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*Wm. Linnell*  
*Philadelphia*

A

HISTORY

OF

THE UNITED STATES

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION:

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

**The Aborigines.**

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BY EZEKIEL SANFORD.

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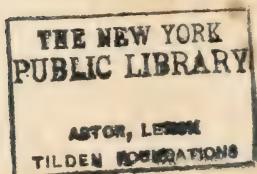
PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY ANTHONY FINLEY.

William Brown, Printer.

1819.





*Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit:*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the nineteenth day of February, in the forty-third year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1819, Ezekiel Sanford, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit:

"A History of the United States before the Revolution : with some Account of the Aborigines. By Ezekiel Sanford."

In conformity to the act of the congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."—And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,

*Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.*

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**THE** title of this volume might appear a solecism, if the reader were not made acquainted with the plan of the author. He divides our history into three separate periods:—the history *Before the Revolution*; the history *During the Revolution*; and the history *Since the Revolution*. Though we have not always been known by the same name, we have always been essentially the same people; and, for the uniformity of title, the reader may be willing to excuse a little inaccuracy of language. The present volume has been written during the vacant hours of a person not yet involved in business; and whether he will hereafter find leisure, or encouragement, to complete the work, time alone can determine.

The author must not be supposed to hope, that he has superseded the necessity of all other American histories. Our society is not yet sufficiently advanced in the refinements of luxury, to create a class of men exclusively devoted to literature; and, until that epoch shall have arrived, it will be in vain to expect such a history of our own country, as has been written of others. In the mean time, however, the nation may be gratified with some general account of its progress from childhood to maturity; and, if the author shall be found to have succeeded in such a performance, it is the highest merit, to which he has any pretensions. His object has not been to give the details, but to glance at the summits, of affairs;—*sequari fastigia rerum*. Compression, therefore, has been his great study; and he fears, indeed, that he has adopted a scale of abridgment too concise; and that, in labouring to be brief, he has often become obscure.

It seemed not improper to preface a History of the United States, with some Account of the Aborigines. The author has begun the subject at the

highest point; and endeavoured to throw some light upon all the questions connected with their origin, their revolutions, their numbers, and their disappearance. Much has been written concerning the Indians; but the object has too often been to make a book; and we are accordingly treated with speculation, when we ask for knowledge, and find a romance, where we expected a history. Such facts as the author could collect, he has faithfully communicated; and perhaps the third section contains the first attempt at a history of the several tribes, within the territory of the present United States.

PHILADELPHIA, }  
Feb. 18, 1819. }





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# THE ABORIGINES.

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## SECTION I.

Fabulous History.—Different Pretenders to the Original Discovery of America—The Phœnicians—The Welsh—The Chinese—The Norwegians—The Germans:—America, how originally peopled?—By the Europeans?—By the Asiatics?—Or by Neither?

**PLATO**, we believe, is the earliest author, who has given us the description of a country, which might be taken for America. While yet a boy, he says, he was told by his grandfather, that, after the gods had divided the universe, Neptune took to himself a mortal spouse; and, having several children, bestowed upon them their rightful portions of his empire. To Atlas, the eldest, he gave a vast island, beyond the Pillars of Hercules; which, after him, was called Atlantis. Never, perhaps, was a king blessed with so rich and beautiful a country, or so prosperous and happy a people. The bowels of the earth teemed with the precious metals: while the surface displayed



every variety of nutritious and aromatic plant, root, fruit, and flower. The woods furnished a covert for all descriptions of useful and comely beasts; and were replete with birds of every sort, whether distinguished by the beauty of their plumage, or the melody of their notes. Innumerable ships, capacious harbours, magnificent bridges, splendid edifices, gymnasia, hippodromes, aqueducts, reservoirs,—every thing, in a word, which indicates the highest state of opulence, prosperity, and civilization,—might be found in the felicitous dominions of Atlas. The temple of Neptune alone was six hundred and twenty-five feet long, and three hundred and sixty broad; with spires of silver, columns of gold, and walls and pavements of brass. This vision was too bright to be permanent; and, that the end of the story might be consistent with the beginning, the whole island of Atlantis is said to have been swallowed up, at last, by a voracious whirlpool.\*

Most readers would take this to be a new proof of the observation, that Plato was a poet by nature, and a philosopher by chance: yet there are not wanting ancients, who assert the actual existence of such an island as Atlantis; nor moderns, who imagine that island to have been no other than America. Something like truth is conjectured to be the substratum of

\* PLAT. in TIM. et CRIT. Opera. Lugdini. 1690. pp. 525. 561, 562.  
The story was first told to Solon by an Egyptian priest.

all heathen factions; and the story of Plato's grandfather is supposed to have been fabricated from the traditional accounts of the Phœnicians; who, as we are told, performed two voyages, at least, to this hemisphere;—the first, it would seem, from a deliberate predetermination, under the same Atlas of whom we have just spoken;—the second, much against their will, in consequence of a violent storm, which drove their vessel from the coast of Africa, and carried her to an extensive island or continent far to the west of Lybia.\* From Phœnicia the knowledge of the New World would, of course, be transferred to Carthage; and Aristotle is quoted as saying, that the merchants of the latter performed such frequent voyages hither, as to make the senate fear the depopulation of their city, and endeavour to prevent it by law.†

The voyage of Atlas may have been the origin of the account already given; but we can find no special reason for believing this to be the real prose of the fable; and, even if we should admit such a voyage to have been performed, it will by no means follow, that Atlas came to America; for the vast island, according to Plato's own account, was not beyond sight from the Pillars of Hercules. The second voyage, if it may be so called, is quite as improbable as the first. That

\* HORNIIUS de Origine Gent. Amer. l. i. c. 6.—DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 19.

† ARISTOT. de Mund. c. 3.

a vessel should be blown off the coast of Africa, and driven to this continent, is not surely impossible,—though the course of winds must have strangely shifted since that time: but, without chart, or compass, or much astronomical skill, how was she to get back, to carry the intelligence?

Our authors are not satisfied with this absurdity. They suppose the Phœnicians, not only to have made a voyage or two; but to have planted colonies here, and carried on a trade between the two continents. This would give us new ideas of their proficiency in the arts and sciences, which are subservient to navigation; but, without resorting to so invidious a topic, we may mention a single circumstance, which, it appears to us, will equally refute all the stories of early European colonies. Making every allowance for modern degeneracy, we suppose it will hardly be contended, that the ancients were completely proof against the original climate of the New World; and, if only a half or a third as many of them perished in their attempts at colonization, as were lost in those of more modern times, the facts would have become so notorious as to have enabled their historians to give us authentic statements, instead of obscure fables.

The Welsh are the next claimants to the original discovery of America. In the year 1170, the sons of Owen Gwyneth are said to have contested the suc-

cession to North Wales; the eldest being ‘counted  
‘unmeet to govern, because of the maim upon his  
‘face.’ Madoc, one of the brothers, seems to have  
thought, that his own prospect was hopeless, or that  
it was hardly worth while to quarrel for so trifling a  
stake; and he resolved to seek some other region,  
where it would not be necessary to establish his title  
by force, or to maintain it by oppression. Sailing  
westward, from the northernmost point of Ireland, he  
came, at length, to a country, where, though he ‘saw  
‘many strange things,’ he found no inhabitants; and  
where, of course, he might rule, without the fear of  
competition or dethronement. He returned to pro-  
vide himself with subjects; and, setting sail again,  
with a number of ships, is supposed to have planted a  
colony in the New World.\* This tale only exists in  
the traditional poetry of the Welsh; and, though it  
found converts during the last century, the expedi-  
tion of Lewis and Clarke has dissipated the fable of  
Welsh Indians up the Missouri.

Sir John Mandeville, who wrote in the fourteenth  
century, has a still more extraordinary story, concern-  
ing an early British adventurer. He is endeavouring  
to prove, from his own experience, that the earth is  
round; and, since his speculations were published a

\* POWELL'S Hist. of Wales. Ap. HACKLUYT'S Voyages, vol. iii. pp.  
506-7.



century before the voyages of Columbus, they must take from the latter the praise of originality, in suggesting the existence of new continents, or the circumnavigability of the globe. As the people to the north, he observes, guide themselves by the 'lode sterre;' so those of the south are guided by a similar star, called the 'antartyke.' 'For whiche cause, (he adds,) men may wel perceyve, that the lond and the see ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the firmament schewethe in o contree, that schewethe not in another contree. And men may well preuen by experience and sotyle compassement of wytt, that zif a man fond passages be schippes, hat wolde go to serchen the worlde, men might go be schippe all aboute the worlde, and aboven and bene-then.' He then shows much 'experience and sotyle compassement of wytt,' in proof of the fact; and concludes, as he began, 'that men may envirowne alle the erthe of alle the world, as well under as aboven, and turn azen to his contree, that hadde companye and schippyng and conduyt: and all weyes he scholde fynde men, londes, and yles, als wel as in this contree.'

As an additional proof of his assertion, he subjoins the story just alluded to. 'And therefore,' he says, 'hath it befallen many times of a thing, (we drop the old orthography,) that I have heard counted,

when I was young: how a worthy man departed some time from our country, for to go to search the world. And so he passed India, and the islands beyond India, where there are more than five thousand islands: and so long he went by sea and land, and so environed the world by many seasons, that he found an island, where he heard his own language spoken, calling on oxen in the plough, such words as men speak to beasts in his own country: whereof he had great marvel: for he knew not how it might be. But I say that he had gone so long, by land and by sea, that he was coming again environing; that is to say, going about to his own marches, ‘zif he wold have passed forth, till he had founden his contree and his own knowleche.’\*

The Chinese are, also, said to have visited America, before its discovery by Columbus. It was in the year 1270, that China was overrun by the Tartars; and it is supposed, that a body of one hundred thousand inhabitants, refusing obedience to their new masters, set sail, in one thousand ships, to find a new country, or perish in the enterprise. The origin of Mexico is thus ascertained; and, that the account might be confirmed to demonstration, some authors tell us, that the wrecks of Chinese vessels have been

seen in Florida and Quivira.\* We must question, whether this people were then sufficiently skilful in navigation to double Cape Horn; and we can find no good reason, why they should sail around the whole continent of South America, to arrive at a place, which might have been reached by so much shorter a route. Of all nations, the Chinese are the most obstinately attached to their own soil; and, when we add, that, though both they and the Tartars have historians for this period, no mention is made by either of so notable an event,† little credit, we think, can be given to the story.

Next come the Norwegians. We have not been enabled to investigate the evidence of their claims; and, indeed, nearly all we know on the subject, is contained in a letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Mather, dated London, July 7, 1773. ‘You have,’ says he, ‘made the most of your argument, to prove that America was known to the ancients. There is another discovery of it claimed by the Norwegians, which you have not mentioned, unless it be under the words ‘of old viewed and observed,’ page 7. About twenty-five years since, Professor Kalm, a learned Swede, was with us in Pennsylvania. He contended, that America was discovered by their northern people, long

\* HONN. ut sup. l. iii. c. 4, 5; or HARRIS’ Voyages, Introd.

† Hist. of China. Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. xx.

before the time of Columbus; which I doubting, he drew up and gave me, some time after, a note of these discoveries which I send you inclosed.\* We believe, this notion was first promulged by Grotius; who divides America into the Septentrional and Middle; and conjectures, that, while the former was settled by the Norwegians, the people of the latter came from China, Æthiopia, and other countries.

The honour of discovering America was once claimed for the Normans; but their pretensions were founded upon an obscure passage in an obscure author; and, if they have not been abandoned by the nation itself, they find no supporters beyond the limits of its territory. The Germans may equally despair of success. It is said, upon what good authority, we know not, that one Martinus, a noble Bohemian, discovered the coast of Brazil and the Straits of Magellan, long before the voyages of Columbus; and some German authors have stoutly laboured to persuade the world, that the continent should be called *Bohemia*, instead of *America*. ‘But, (it is gravely answered by a certain historian,) supposing that the particulars relating to Martinus’ discoveries were much better supported than we really take them to

\* FRANK. Works, Amer. Edit. vol. vi. p. 77. We are ashamed to quote so vile an edition of our philosopher’s works; but there is no other at hand.



be, insomuch that there was not the least reason to doubt the certainty of them, yet as the name of America has been so long used by the European nations, it would not be proper, at this time of day, to substitute another in its place.\*

Some moderns have devised a new way of solving the riddle of Plato; and, as it seems absurd to suppose, that the early Europeans or Asiatics introduced themselves to America by long voyages, the later authors endeavour to obviate the necessity of any voyage at all. The Hindoos relate a fable concerning the destruction of an island, called *Atala*: the Irish have a vague tradition about the loss of land by earthquakes: the Giant's Causeway is supposed to have some connexion with the subject; and it is observed, that many of the islands, in the Atlantic and Pacific, either are, or have been, the seats of volcanos. From such data as these, we are called upon to believe, that an extent of territory, from the western coast of Europe to the eastern shore of Asia, has been sunk by a series of earthquakes; that the islands, just mentioned, are merely the tops of its mountains; and that the inhabitants of those islands are the posterity of such as were left on dry land, in the general submersion.† As giants may be killed with pebble-stones, a

\* Anc. Univ. Hist. vol. xx. p. 194-5.

† One of our own countrymen has thrown together many new facts in support of this theory. See *Researches in America*, &c. By JAMES

theory too monstrous is easily subverted by a single fact. Does an earthquake give men time to fly to the tops of mountains? Or were men, at that period, so different from what they are now, as to settle upon the hills, instead of the vales?

By far the most numerous class of writers are of opinion, that America was peopled by wanderers from Asia, across Behring's Strait. The shortest distance between the two continents, at this place, is only forty miles: the strait is entirely frozen over in winter; and, as there are known to be inhabitants upon the two opposite shores, it seems easy to conclude, that they once belonged to the same people. The objection, that the Tchutchi, on the Asiatic, and the Esquimaux, on the American side, are very different from the other tribes of the respective continents, is by no means conclusive; for it still remains to be determined, whether peculiarities of climate, and different modes of life, are not sufficient to account for all these diversities of feature, form, and habit. Perhaps, indeed, the only insurmountable objection to this hypothesis, is, that, to account for the emigration of men, will unveil but half of the mystery:—our animals, too, must have come from Noah's ark; and the misfortune of the theory, is, that it supposes beasts

H. M'CULLOCH, M. D. Balt. 1817. American authors have not yet the leisure to write with method, or with elegance; and this book seems to have been composed and printed in the same spirit of haste and carelessness.

and birds, which cannot exist beyond the tropical parallels, to have crossed over at a place, where spirits of wine are almost congealed.

The only remaining explanation, which will be likely to find supporters, is, that the aboriginal men and animals of America were not destroyed in the flood, and have been the progenitors of its present native inhabitants. Something may be urged, with plausibility, at least, to reconcile this hypothesis with scriptural history. As Moses was only acquainted with the Old World, he may be supposed to have spoken only of that: it was the sins of the Old World which required purification; and, though the flood might have covered every mountain, on the other continent, it would not have reached the top of many, in this.\* Some of the Indian tribes are said to have a tradition, that their first parents were saved from an universal deluge, by flying to the summits of mountains; and it is acknowledged, that there are many genera of animals in America, which have no prototype in the other hemisphere.

\* We have not noticed the fact, that animal remains are found upon the summits of mountains. No person has yet surmounted the tops of the Andes. Similar remains are found in mines. Those who adduce the circumstance, to prove the absolute universality of the deluge, suppose, that the earth was then reduced to chaos; but the globe could hardly be dissolved by an immersion in water for only forty days; and, if the appearance of these remains may be accounted for, from a chaos at all, it is much more rational to refer them to the original chaos.

To all this, it may be answered, that the supposition of Moses' ignorance is entirely gratuitous; that the words of our English Bible—‘it repented the Lord, that he had made *man*’—can hardly be reconciled with the idea of restricting his vengeance to the Old World; that the Indian traditions, besides being imperfectly ascertained, are obscure and contradictory; and that the topic of a difference in the kind of animals, while it is not founded upon absolute facts, would equally prove, that some parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, escaped the waters of the flood. What should induce the sukotyro to keep within the bounds of Asia? Whence is it, that the hippopotamus and hyrax are only found in Africa? Why will the dodo inhabit no other islands than those of France, Bourbon, and Roderegues in the Indian Ocean? Or what reason can be found, for the attachment of the condor to the peaks of the Andes? This is taking it for granted, that the differences in question are undoubtedly real; but the progress of discovery is daily proving animals to be common to both hemispheres, which were formerly supposed to be peculiar to one; and it is not for the present generation to say, that half a century will not establish the universality of them all.

It may, also, be urged against the latter theory, that, unless the nature of the globe has undergone some surprising change, it will be as difficult to con-



ceive how the antediluvian men and animals came hither, as to account for their emigration since the flood. It must be remembered, however, that the difficulty is not so much to ascertain the mode, in which the human race peopled this continent, as to explain that, in which beasts and birds effected their transit. There is a remarkable difference, not only in the scriptural history,—but in the specific qualities, of the two races. We are not told, that no more than one pair of each bird and beast was, at first, created; nor that they were only created in the vicinity of Paradise. The Lord commands the ‘earth’ to produce animals, in nearly the same language as he commands the water to move with fish; and, while it is almost certain, that the various fish of the ocean,—particularly the whale,—could not have lived in the rivers of Paradise, it is hardly possible, that animals, which can only exist in particular temperatures, should have been all produced in the Garden of Eden. Man, on the contrary, is capable of enduring any climate; and a nation is said to have been found as high as the sixty-sixth parallel; who suppose, that they own the whole earth, and are its sole inhabitants. It was not necessary, therefore, to create different pairs of the human race for the different portions of the globe. But, without such a provision in the case of animals, it will forever remain a mystery, how they ascertained

the particular zones, to which their respective natures are adapted; nor will it be any easier to account for their dispersion over the old continent, than to devise the mode of their emigration to this.

Here may be the proper place to notice an author, who denies the universality of the deluge; and thinks, he has found indubitable marks of antediluvian existence, in the monuments of Mexico and Peru.\* We cannot follow him through five volumes of desultory speculation; and perhaps it will be enough to state, that he explains the fable of Plato by supposing, that, before the flood, the Old and New Worlds were united by a vast isthmus, now sunk in the Pacific. Indeed, if we rightly comprehend him, he means, that the flood itself was no more than the submersion of the intermediate continent. The idea is not entirely original; for it was observed, of old, that Plato was only Moses speaking in Greek.

Lord Bacon has still another version of the story. ‘If you consider well,’ says he, ‘of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable, that they are a newer, or a younger people than the people of the Old World; and it is much more likely, that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes.

\* *Essai sur cette question: quand et comment l’Amerique a-t-elle été peuplée d’Hommes et d’Animaux? Par E. B. d’E. 5 tomes 12mo. Amsterdam, 1767.*

(as the *Ægyptian* priest told Solon, concerning the Island of Atlantis, that it was swallowed by an earthquake,) but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge: for earthquakes are seldom in these parts: but on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africa and Europe, are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge, saved.\* Thus, no two authors can agree upon the same interpretation; and, while one makes the Indians the oldest, another proves them the newest, people on the globe.

Turn which way we will, then, there appear to be contradictions, which it would be hard to reconcile, and obstacles, which it is almost impossible to surmount. It may be, that the incompetency of the writer is mistaken for the difficulty of the subject. There may be a thread, by which he can rule his blind footsteps; but it will be confessed, at least, that, while the labyrinth is dark and intricate, our lights are few, dim, and unsteady. Were we obliged to make a choice, perhaps we should pitch upon the theory, which supposes the deluge to have been complete only in the Old World. It does not imply any revolting absurdity: some modification of it has been

\* BACON'S *Essay Of the Vicissitudes of Things*.

supported by the ablest writers upon the subject,\* and it will serve to explain more of the phenomena, than either of the others. On the contrary, we do not believe, that any scheme can be formed to derive the aborigines of the Americas from Asia, Europe, or Africa, which, in the present state of knowledge, may not be perplexed with numerous and irremoveable objections. Were it not for the birds and beasts, perhaps the second theory would be the most plausible; but, to exclude animals from the calculation, is to abandon the Mosaic history; and, if we once lose sight of that, there is no more reason for making the Americans descendents from the Asiatics, than the Asiatics descendents from the Americans.

Three topics of argument are generally resorted to, in the discussion of this subject,—similarities of language, traditions, manners, and monuments,—which we have reserved for a separate consideration, because they are not exclusively applicable to any particular theory. It is their greatest objection, indeed, that they have been applied with equal success to all. We cannot take the pains to enumerate the different hypotheses, which three centuries have produced, to develop and elucidate this mystery; but, in all the various idioms of language, and modes of life, which distinguish the aboriginal tribes of America, we have

\* BACON, HUMBOLT, E. B. d'E, &c.



never known an author fail of finding a sufficient number of etymologies, customs, and ceremonies, to support the particular idea, which he has started or espoused. Though there may be ten dissimilarities for one resemblance, and though that one resemblance be imperfect and obscure, the novelty of a beautiful hypothesis eclipses all other considerations; and tribes, which can hardly be said to have a single thing in common, are pronounced to be branches of the same people.

Solinus mentions a nation of Asiatics, called the *Apalaëi*; and, in *Herodotus*, we read of the *Massagetæ*, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. The former are found in the *Apalachi* of Florida; the latter in the *Mazaticæ* of New Spain, and the *Masachusitæ* of New England. *Ptolemy* speaks of the *Tabieni*; and the *Tambi* were an ancient nation of Peru. The *Cunadani* inhabited the north of Asia; and there was a city in Upper Hungary, called *Chunad*. No person, therefore, could mistake the derivation of Canada. The *Chonsuli* about Nicaragua are identified with the *Hunni*, or *Chuni*; and the *Parii* of Scythia are supposed to have named the South American region of *Paria*. The *Hurons* are a branch of the *Huyrones*, who live in the neighbourhood of the *Moguls*. The *Olopali* of Florida, the *Nepi* of *Trinidad*, and the *Iroquois*, of the north, are the same with



the Parii, the Nepi, and the Irycæ of Herodotus. The Moguls are the progenitors of the Tomogali and Mogoles about the River La Plata; and how nearly do the Choten, Baita, and Tangur, of Great Tartary, resemble the Coton of Chili, and the Paita and Tangora of Peru? The Japanese are found under both their appellations. The Chiapanecæ about Nicaragua retain their common name; and the Zipangri of Hispaniola, the one, which was given them by the Tartars. The word Sacks is one synonyme of the Celts; and there is a tribe of Indians, who have the same name, to a letter. The Abydos of the Greeks has since been called Nagara; and our Niagara corresponds with it, both in name and situation.

The Peruvians think, they descended from one Mancu; and there are Manchew Tartars. The natives of Virginia and Guatimala are said to have a tradition concerning Madoc; and his name has been detected as a part of the Guatimalan Matoc-Zunga and Mat-Inga. The double L of the Spanish is said to have been derived from the Mexicans,\* who took it from the Welsh; and, when the Dutch first carried to Europe a bird, which they found at the Straits of Magellan, and which the natives called Penguin, the Welsh

\* It is a little singular, that, while the Mexicans are said to have two l's, the Cherokees cannot pronounce one. BARTON'S New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America. Phil. 1797, p. xliv.

discovered, that, with the aptest correspondence to its description, the same word, in their own language, signified White-head. The words *gurando*, to hear-ken, *corroeso*, an island, and *guyndor*, a river, have all been found among the natives of America; and are all known to be genuine words in the old British or Welsh. Many other similarities have been discovered; and one author has written a book for no other purpose, than to prove the identity of the languages spoken by the ancient Britons and the natives of Darien.\*

The evidence in favour of the Hebrews, is, perhaps, still more plausible. The greater part of the similar words have been recently arranged in columns;† and perhaps it is the most convenient mode of exhibiting the subject to the reader.

ENGLISH.	CHARIBBEE.	CREEKS.	MOHEGAN, and Northern Languages.	HEBREW.
Dead man,	Nectali,			Ibid.
He is dead,	Hilaali,			Ibid.
Sugar-cane,	Kaniche,			Ibid.

\* Essay, &c. Edinburgh, 1738.

† Star in the West; or, A Humble Attempt to discover the long lost Tribes of Israel, &c. By ELIAS BOUDINOT, L. L. D. Trenton, N. J. 1816. Dr. Boudinot is mistaken, if he supposes this to be the first appearance of the star in the West. It was seen, at least, in the year 1650. See THOROWGOOD's Jews in America; or, Conjectures concerning the origin of the American Indians. Lond. And L'ESTRANGE's Americans no Jews; or an Answer to THOROWGOOD's Conjectures.

ENGLISH.	CHARIBBEE.	CREEKS.	MOHEGAN, and Northern Languages.	HEBREW.
His wife,	Liani,			Li hene.
My wife,	Yene-nori,			Hene harrani.
Come hither,	Hace-yete,		Aca-ati (Samaritan).	
The heavens,	Chemim,			Shemim.
Jehovah,	Jocanna,	Y. He. Ho. Wah.		Jehovah.
Roman,	Ishto,			Ishto.
Man,	Ish,	Ishte,		Ish.
I,			Niah,	Ani, or Ahni.
Thou, or thee,			Keah,	Ka.
This man,			Uwevoh,	Huah.
We,			Necaunah,	Nachnu.
Assembly,	Kurbet,			Guir, or Gra bit.
Necklace,	Enca,			Ong.
Wood,	Hue,			Oa (Chaldaic).
My skin,	Nora,			Ourni.
I am sick,	Nane guaete,			Nanceheti.
Good bye to you,	Hulea tibou,			Ye hali ettuboa.
To blow,	Phoubac,			Phouhe.
Roof of the house,	Toubana ora,			Debona our.
Go thy way,	Bayou boorkaa,			Boua bouak.
Eat,	Baika,			Bge (Chaldaic).
To eat,	Aika,			Akl (Chaldaic).
The nose,	Nichiri,			Neheri.
Give me nour- ishment,	} Natoni boman,			Natouni bamen.
The Great First Cause,		Yo hewa,		Jehova.
Praise the First Cause,	}	Halleluwah,		Hallelujah.
Father,		Abba,		Abba.
Now,		Na,		Na.

ENGLISH.	CHARIBBEE.	CREEKS.	MOHEGAN, and Northern Languages.	HEBREW.
Very hot, or bitter upon me, }		Heru, hara, or hala, }		Hara hara.
To pray,		Phale,		Phalæ.
Murderer,		Abe,		Abel.
One who kills a wandering enemy, }		Noabe, com- pounded of Noah and Abe, }		
Canaan,		Kenaai,		Canaan.
Wife,		Awah,		Eve or Ewel.
Winter,		Kora,		Cora.
God,		Ale,		Ale, or Alohim.
Do.		Innois,		Iannon.
Ararat, a high mountain, }	The same among the Indians of Penobscot.			

But by far the most elaborate treatise, on this subject, has been written by another countryman of ours; who has undertaken to prove, that the languages spoken in both Americas are radically one, and the same with those of the various nations, which are known by the general name of Tartars.\* It was impolitic in the author, to regret, that he could not make his tables more complete; for it seems to us, that they are already so full as to overturn the hypothesis, which they were designed to support. That a few plausible coincidences have been found, there can be no doubt;

\* BARTON'S New Views of the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America. Phil. 1797.



but a mere glance of the eye will be sufficient to convince the reader, that, for one resemblance, there are ten disparities. The Tartar languages appear to have a great affinity to each other; but, though the author had the whole scope of Asia and America, it is seldom that any of their languages can furnish him with a parallel. The Indian languages, it is evident, differ more from each other than from those of Tartary; and the fact has been adduced as one proof, that the natives of America are of greater antiquity than those of Asia.

This, however, is not the species of refutation, which we intend to adopt. We shall construct a list from the most perfect resemblances; and leave the reader to conclude, from our subsequent observations, whether it can have much weight in the decision of the controversy.

ENGLISH.	AMERICAN.	TARTAR.
God,	Nioh,	Noob,
Heaven,	Kisheh,	Koor.
Father,	Otah,	Otsah.
Mother,	Anna,	Anna.
Son,	Namun,	Nioma.
Daughter,	Neesham,	Neep.
Brother,	Nicanich,	Nunaika.
Sister,	Weticks,	Wasick.
Wife,	Weewoon,	Newen,
Girl,	Kihtuckquaw,	Kisseitschak.
Boy, (no parallel).		

ENGLISH.	AMERICAN.	TARTAR.
Child,	Papoos,	Poompoo.
Man,	Kessona,	Keesee.
Head,	Wihl,	Olol.
Nose,	Peechten,	Paschee.
Eye,	Dessa,	Dus.
Ear,	Pilum,	Pel.
Forehead,	Hackalu,	Haka.
Hair,	Lissy,	Lossee.
Mouth,	Madoon,	Motoo.
Tooth,	Zebet,	Zeboo.
Tongue,	Neelahnee,	Naileem.
Beard,	Hebelin,	Habbe.
Hand,	Enahkee,	Enape.
Belly,	Wachtey,	Watsee.
Foot,	Pi,	Paa.
Skin,	Chey,	Cheg.
Flesh,	Wijaas,	Wodge.
Blood,	Tagui,	Toog.
Heart,	Micheone,	Mervane.
Love,	Zargay,	Warge.
Life, (no parallel).		
Death,	Do.	
Cold,	Roig,	Rohee.
Sun,	Keesis,	Kitsche.
Moon,	Keshessu,	Kushtail.
Star,	Alank,	Alak.
Rain,	Kenape,	Kanie.
Snow, (no parallel).		
Ice,	Mucquam.	Muk.
Day, (no parallel).		
Night,	Do.	
Morning,	Do.	

ENGLISH.	AMERICAN.	TARTAR.
Summer,	Tome palle,	Tamoma.
Winter,	Lowan,	Ganu.
Earth or ground,	Lacta,	Latta.
Water,	Okka,	Oogoon.
Fire,	Tata,	Tat.
Wood,	Mahia,	Madge.
Dog,	Kura,	Koura.
There,	Talli,	Tala.
I,	Ni,	Ne.

There are a few other resemblances, scattered in various authors, which perhaps it would be hardly fair to omit. In the Japanese, *tonus* signifies sun, moon, stars; or governors, kings, princes. The Mexicans call the sun *tanaticus*, and the moon, *tona*; and, in Hispaniola, the name of *taino* is given to all persons of noble or princely blood. *Motazaiuma* is the general appellation of a Japanese monarch; and *montezuma* performs the same office in Mexico. Ginseng, in both hemispheres, is said to be called by a name, which signifies ‘the thighs of a man;’ and it is asserted, that the Mexican *teu* and *tepec*, for God and a mountain, have the same meaning in the ancient Turkish. If, among the Tartars, the names of many places end in *an*, and the names of many princes, in *ax*, the Mexicans have their Teutillan, Coattan, Hazattan, Petullan; their Stalderax. Amorax. Menbar. Naguatar.

These, we believe, are all the coincidences of language, which can be seriously urged to show, that the New World was peopled from the Old. The mere fact, one would think, that, if such similarities have weight at all, they prove the American Indians to have descended from almost every nation in the other hemisphere, must be sufficient to convince the theorist, that little trust can be placed in this species of induction. But the experience of every day teaches us, that so general an answer is not sufficient. Books and papers still continue to appear upon the subject; and the authors still appear to imagine, that the strength of their theories must chiefly depend upon the aptness of their etymologies. A few have abandoned so uncertain a mode of proof; but the rest do not seem to consider it as a good example; and, until their own particular etymologies are disturbed, by striking at the root of the fallacy, each, we fear, will persist in thinking the others mistaken, and himself right.

One of the most fruitful sources of error, is, the difference between the idioms of our own languages and those of savage nations in general. Civilization, while it augments the vocabulary, is sure to abridge the particular words, of a language. As the subjects of conversation multiply, the time for each becomes less; and, what a savage would have leisure to describe, a man in civilized society can only afford to define.



The objects of attention are innumerable; each must have its separate name; and that name must be brief. In the savage state, the occasions of language are not numerous; nor need words be cut short for want of time. The Indians, while they have but a scanty vocabulary, are obliged to carry it all in their own heads. Request one to name an object, and he will enumerate its uses. The innocent inquirer takes down the whole answer as one word; and then smiles at the simplicity of an Indian, for using such endless appellatives. Thus, a New Zealander, being asked what he called a neighbouring island, answered, *Tavi poenamono*. It was immediately recorded as the name of the island; but, when afterwards explained, turned out to mean, ‘lake and hatchet-stone;’ and the truth happened to be, that, in this island, there was a lake, from which the natives procured stone for their hatchets.\* So *kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaonganunonash* is said to be the Indian for our single word, ‘question;’† but there can be no doubt, that, though the expression may only amount to this, it is made up of more words than one. It is long enough, indeed, to contain all the parts of speech; and, by mistaking such combinations for single terms, it is impossible to calculate the errors, into which etymology may lead us.

The Indians utter many sounds, for which we have

\* COOK'S Voyages.

† MATHER'S Magnalia, b. iii. p. 193.

no appropriate letters; and, on the other hand, we have many letters, for which they have no correspondent sounds. The Cherokees cannot pronounce *l*; while we are obliged to use *w*, for sounds, which are more like *uch*, than any other combination in the alphabet.\* Nor does the evil stop here. Indian words are again liable to all the modifications, arising from the idioms of the different languages, in which they are expressed; and not only become different, when heard by persons of different nations,—but when given by individuals of the same nation. Thus the French must use *ou* and *que*, where we have *w* and *k*;—as Ouabash and Ouinnipeque, for Wabash and Winnipeck. The ears of different men are not alike; and their fancies are still farther apart. Captain Cook heard Yucuatl for Nootka;† and those tribes, which, in English, are Onidoes and Todericks, become Oneyonts and Tate-ras, in French.‡ By passing through different languages, or by being frequently repeated in the same

\* BART. pp. ix. xlix.

† HUMBOLT'S Polit. Essay, vol ii. p. 256.

‡ BOUDINOT'S Star in the West, p. 99.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
Owinagunges,	Abenaguies.
Maques,	Aniez.
Odistastagheks,	Mascoaties.
Makilander,	Maurigan.
Otawawas,	Outawies.
Satanas,	Shaononons.

language, a word may lose nearly every letter of its original constitution; and perhaps nothing will sooner dishearten an etymologist, than to present him with Newton's derivation of *Arminon*:—Menes, Mines, Minæus, Minies, Enephes, Venephes, Phamenophis, Osymanthus, Osymandyas, Osimandas, Isimandas, Imandes, Memnon, Arminon.

These are the mistakes, to which the etymologist is liable, at the outset of his business,—in procuring the very materials, upon which his ingenuity is to be employed. The process of analysing words, and extracting derivations, is attended with still greater hazard of deception, and must have still less title to confidence. After all the changes have been rung upon our alphabet, it is confined to a few elementary sounds. The consonants, when left to themselves, are mute; and, however they may be placed, or how many soever are employed, the stress of articulation must still rest upon the vowel. They may vary the sound, by their position, or soften it, by their number; but these alterations are so exile and evanescent as frequently to escape the most delicate ear; and may generally be made, or unmade, at the pleasure of the etymologist. Nothing can be constant in a living language. By one imperceptible shade of difference, after another, words are sometimes divested of all their first characteristics: and any attempt to trace the pro-

gress of these mutations, will, in most instances, be as hopeless, as it would be to think of finding the original timbers of the Argonautic ship. In a case, where the standard of trial is so variable as the ear, and the things to be tried, so fluctuating as sounds, too much confidence should never be placed in our results. The eye, too, is ever ready to see how one syllable or letter may be turned into another; and, in so difficult a matter, the very ease, with which we are generally convinced, ought to give us some distrust in the method of proof. The clearest evidence should be exacted at every step; and all etymologies; which depend merely upon their own intrinsic reasonableness, have just an equal chance of being right, or wrong.

Authors, again, seldom agree in their etymologies; and more especially, if they are pursuing different walks of literature. Judge Blackstone, Judge Christian, and Mr. Chalmers, for instance, have each given a different analysis of the word *culprit*; and perhaps the reader will be perplexed to determine, which of the three is the most likely to be correct. The two first derive it from the forms of criminal pleading; but differ in respect to the words, of which they suppose it to be compounded.

All pleadings were formerly carried on in Latin. When the prisoner was brought to the bar, he answered the indictment, by saying, *non culpabilis*,—



‘not guilty;’ and this was entered upon the minutes, in the abbreviated form of *non. cul.* The clerk replied for the king, *culpabilis; et hoc paratus est verificare*: — ‘He is guilty; and this the king is ready to prove.’ The reply was set down in the same spirit of abbreviation; and, as *prit* is often used for *paratus*, in the old books, the entry upon the minutes would be ‘*cul. prit.*’ It was the custom to go through these forms in as few words as possible; and succeeding clerks would very naturally omit all but the two syllables *cul.* and *prit.* As it was a mere form, the repetition of the words would seldom recall the signification; and ignorant clerks, when the pleadings were afterwards transacted in English, may have mistaken this entry for the technical word, and addressed the prisoner, ‘culprit, how wilt thou be tried?’\*

On the other hand, Judge Christian tells us, that, after the plea of *non culpabilis*, the king’s officer could only join issue, by a *fecit similiter*, or, ‘he doth the like.’ The plea was entered upon the record in these words: *Non inde est culpabilis, et pro bono et malo ponit se super patriam.* ‘If then,’ says he, ‘I might be allowed to indulge in a conjecture of my own, I should think that *prit* was an easy corruption of *pnt.* written for *ponit*, by the clerk, as a minute that issue was joined, or *ponit se super patriam*, or *pnt se*

\* BLACK. Comm. vol. iv. p. 339.

might have been converted into *prist*, or *prest*, as it is sometimes written. *Cul.* was probably intended to denote the plea, and *prit* the issue; and these syllables being pronounced aloud by the clerk, to give the court and prisoner an opportunity of hearing the minute, and being immediately followed by the question, how wilt thou be tried? naturally induced the ignorant part of the audience to suppose that *cul prit* was an appellation given to the prisoner. As a confirmation of the conjecture, that *pret* is a corruption of *prit*, the clerk of arraigns, at this day, immediately after the arraignment, writes upon the indictment, over the name of the prisoner, *puts*. And Roger North informs us, that, in ancient times, when pleadings in the courts were *ore tenus*, 'if a sergeant in the common pleas said *judgment*, that was a demurrer; if *prist*, that was an issue to the country.'

Among lawyers, one of these two derivations is likely to be adopted; but, with the rest of mankind, perhaps Mr. Chalmers will bear away the palm. 'I have somewhere,' says he,† 'seen the French language

\* CHRIST. Black. Comm. vol. iv. p. 339. note.

† English Poets, vol. i. p. 680. In confirmation of this remark, perhaps we ought in justice to subjoin the derivation, which he quotes, of the word *cowardice*. 'As to the etymology of the adjective from which this has been formed,' says he, 'I think the opinion of Twydsden and Somner, Gloss. ad X. Script. v. Fridwite, much the most probable; who derive it from the Barb. Lat. *culum vertere*, to turn tail, or run away. See Du Cange, in v. *Culverte*, and *Culvertagium*, who rejects the opinion above mentioned,

seriously charged with indelicacy for its frequent and wanton use of the word *cul* in composition; nor can the charge be said to be groundless. Beside the numerous instances which will occur to every body, I suspect that this monosyllable makes part of a common and solemn term in our law; imported originally from France. *Culprist* seems to me to have been a vulgar name for prisoner; a person taken by that part which is most exposed in running away. Holinshed has expressed the same idea more delicately. Vol. iii. p. 842. 'The prentises were *caught by the backs* and had to prison.' And so it is expressed in the ancient Scottish Poems, p. 182, ver. 15.

'Yet deid (death) sal take him to the bok.'

All these derivations have the appearance of reason; and either, if seen by itself, would probably have been deemed correct. Many of those, which are usually resorted to, in the treatises upon our aboriginal population, have not even this circumstance to recommend them. In former times, for example, the Mohawks were the terror of all the eastern Indians; and no sooner did one make his appearance, than the cry of 'Mohawk! Mohawk!' resounded from hill to hill.\*

but without suggesting any thing so plausible. *Culvert*, as it is written in the oldest and best French MS. that I have seen, might easily be corrupted according to the French mode of pronunciation, into *couart* and *couard*.\*

\* TRUMB. Hist. Conn. vol. i. p. 56.

In the Hebrew, *mhhokek* signifies ‘lawgiver:’ but a lawgiver is a superior; and, as a superior is dreaded by his inferiors, can this name come from any but a Hebrew root? \* The etymologists have not been satisfied to trace the origin of Indian names. Even the word *Virginia* has not escaped. ‘Some imagine,’ says an author, ‘that its name is derived, that is, *Virgini*, from a king, whose name was *Vignina*;†’ though it is perfectly well known, that Elizabeth bestowed the appellation upon this country, for a very different reason.

Both the Hebrews and the Caribbees, we are told, gave the name of *kaniche* to the sugar-cane. Now, this is known to have been an eastern plant; nor was it introduced into Europe, till the middle of the twelfth century. It was first cultivated in Sicily; thence transported into the south of Spain; from Spain to the Canary and Madeira islands; and from those islands to the New World, about the year fifteen hundred.‡ One of two conclusions is, therefore, inevitable;—either, that this plant has always been accompanied by its Hebrew appellation; or that the Caribbees have, for thousands of years, retained a name for which, as there was no object, there could be no use.

\* BOUDINOT’S Star, p. 104.

† Hist. of New Sweedland. N. Y. Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 354.

‡ ROB. Ch. v. Phil. Edit. Vol. i. p. 275.



Authors have observed, that it is easier to write rhyme, than blank verse, in the Hebrew; and can any trust be reposed in etymologies from a language, which has such a multitude of consonous words? In fine, these modes of proof always remind us of the scheme, devised by Psammiticus, to ascertain which, of all the nations on the globe, could claim the distinction of being the most ancient. The children, which he shut up, for the purpose, uttered the word *beccos*, when first permitted to see their keeper; and, as it was found, upon inquiry, that bread was so called by the Phrygians, they were pronounced to be the eldest nation. But *becker*, in High-Dutch, signifies ‘a baker;’ and Goropus Becanus, therefore, concludes, that the Germans, and not the Phrygians, were the first born people. Such are the triumphs of etymology!

Indian traditions, too, seem to us equally unworthy of confidence. We learn from some authors, that the aborigines came from the east: others tell us, that they derive themselves from the west; and, indeed, they appear to have come from almost every point of the compass, according as each inquirer has set his particular theory. Indians, it should be known, look upon white men with contempt. They think us a paltry race; and, sometimes through malice, but more frequently from indifference, will make any answer, or tell any story, which first enters their thoughts.

A few leading questions, as they are called, will commonly extract just what is wanted; and perhaps no person was ever disappointed, in finding, among the various tribes, some traditional corroboration of a preconceived hypothesis. They amused one of our travellers, for instance, with the story, 'that they originally came from another country, inhabited by wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great hardships and much misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snows. At a place they called the Coppermine River, where they made the first land, the ground was covered with copper, over which a body of earth had since been collected to the depth of a man's height. They believe, also, that, in ancient times, their ancestors had lived till their feet were worn out with walking, and their throats with eating. They described a deluge, when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountain, on the top of which they were preserved.'\*

The natives of Cuba are said to have had a still more satisfactory account of the flood. They told the Spaniards, that an old man foresaw the intention of God, to punish the world with a deluge; and, building a large canoe, he embarked with his family and a great number of animals. As soon as the waters had

\* M'KENSIE'S Hist. of the Fur Trade, p. 113.

subsided, he sent out a raven; which found carrion, and did not return. A pigeon was then let loose; and it soon re-appeared with a sprig of *hoba*. At last the ground became dry. The old man quitted his canoe; and, making some wine of the wood-grape, drank till he was intoxicated, and fell asleep. One of his sons mocked him; but the other covered his body; and, when he awoke, he blessed the one, and cursed the other.\* Had this account been more vague and general, we should have been very suspicious of its real existence; but, it is presuming much too far upon our credulity and prepossession, when travellers expect us to believe, that the Indians have preserved, by merely oral tradition, the particular details of an event, of which we should know nothing, had not the account been revealed by the Divinity, and recorded by Moses.

If there are such liabilities to deception, in the attainment of knowledge from the aborigines, there are others, quite as great, in its communication to the world. Our language is not fitted for any state of society, or of circumstances, but that, in which it had its origin, and has been customarily used. Our names stand for objects,—for combinations of ideas,—which are seldom found, in nations equally civilized; and perhaps, never, in those, which are savage, or bar-

\* CLAVIGERO'S Hist. Mex

barous. Yet these names are necessarily given to analogous objects among the aborigines: persons at a distance can only receive the signification, which they ordinarily bear among themselves; and, unless they are accompanied with the most careful explanations,—a requisite not always found in books of travels,—we can never know the precise things, which they were intended to express. Some graves, for example, were, not long ago, discovered in the western country; and we were told, in the account, that they contained bodies wrapt in ‘linen shirts’ and ‘twilled blankets.’ No further description was given of their texture; and, though the other furniture of corpses evidently proved them to be no Europeans, we are left to conclude, that they were enveloped in such linen and such blankets as are used by ourselves, in common with the people of Europe.

Errors, from this source, will not only creep into the accounts of Indian traditions; but into those, also, which are given us, of their institutions, manners, and monuments. Even if the latter were correctly ascertained, and clearly described, there may be room to doubt, whether there is a sufficient number of resemblances to warrant the conclusion, which is usually deduced. No person, we believe, has ever undertaken to prove, from *differences* of institution and custom, that the Indians are *not* descended from the nations of the



Old World; but, if any antiquary should hereafter think it worth while to attempt the work, he will be able to find twenty dissimilarities, where those, in the affirmative, can point out one coincidence. This fact has either escaped consideration, or is deemed inconclusive; for, in all the treatises, which continue to appear, upon the subject of our aborigines, the similarity of their institutions, with those of Asiatics or Europeans, still constitutes the leading topic of argument.

The emperors of China are the ‘brothers of the sun and moon:’ the kings of Ceylon are of solar origin: the chiefs of the Natchez were called ‘suns;’ and the incas of Peru trace their descent from the same luminary. The Peruvians reckon by means of knotted cords; and something like this has been discovered in China and Sumatra. The Mexicans rend their garments for grief; and so did the Jews. The Kamtschatkians have no beards; neither have the American Indians. The scalp of an enemy was the most honourable trapping of a Hunnish horse: the Indians had no horses,\* but they were equally fond of scalps.

\* The natives of Kamtschatka were, also, destitute of this animal; and the fact has been considered as a negative proof of their identity with our aborigines. The reason given for the absence of horses in this country, on its first discovery, is, that it was too cold for their passage by Behring’s Straits. ‘Si,’ asks the author of the *Essai*, ‘le froid étoit trop fort pour les chevaux et qu’il les ait fait périr dans le transport en Amérique, de quelle manière y sont donc venus les autres animaux, principalement ceux qu’on ne trouve qu’entre les tropiques?’ Vol. i. p. 10.

Some tribes of Tartary and of America have a practice of suspending dead bodies upon a tree, until their bones are dry; and, in Mexico, travellers have found pyramids of skulls, like those of Persia and other countries. The panther, the buffalo, the bear, the racoon, are emblems of national sovereignty among the Indians. The tribe of Judah was known by the lion; that of Dan, by the serpent; that of Issachar, by an ass; that of Benjamin, by a wolf. Both the Hebrews and the Indians reckon time by nights and moons, instead of days and suns: both are said to begin their ecclesiastical year with the new moon of the vernal equinox: the latter, like the former, have houses of refuge for criminals: some of the Indians fast before a war, as the Hebrews did; and even the ark of purification has been found among the southern tribes. Analogies have also been discovered between nearly all the Jewish and Indian religious ceremonies;\* but the resemblances are often so forced, and always so obscure, that we think it a waste of time to give them a particular enumeration.

One of the marriage ceremonies in Hindostan, as well as Mexico, is, to tie the skirt of the bridegroom's gown to that of the bride. The bones of a wolf have been found in a Mexican grave; and did not the Egyptians pay equal honours to many other animals?

\* BOUDINOT, ch. vii.

Egypt is not the only country, in which pyramids have been erected. Similar structures exist in Mexico, and in the islands of the Pacific:—nay, the mounds along the Mississippi are said to be formed upon the same general plan. Nor is it in Egypt alone, that colossal statues of stone have been discovered. There are monuments of the same kind in Peru, as well as in the Pacific Archipelago; and it is remarkable how nearly those in the latter coincide with those in the former.

In the Peruvian city of Tiahuanac, there are, it is said, two giants cut from stone, with bonnets upon their heads, and garments, which reach to the ground. ‘We remark, besides these,’ says a native commentator, ‘a very long wall, the stones of which are so great, that one is at a loss to conceive how they could have been transported by the hands of men; and there is not, in the neighbourhood, any quarry from which such enormous masses could have been taken. In other places, there is a number of extraordinary buildings, with doors cut out of a single rock; and, what seems to be still more remarkable, they are some of them based upon single stones, thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and six deep.’\*

From the following account of similar statues in the Pacific, the reader will observe, that what are

\* GARCILLASSO de la VEGA, tom. i. pp. 21, 22, 23. 4to edit.

here taken for single stones, may be composed of several: 'These statues, or at least many of them, are erected on platforms, which serve as foundations; the workmanship of them is rude, but not bad, nor are the features of the face ill formed, the nose and chin in particular, but the ears long beyond proportion, and as to the bodies, there is hardly any thing like a human figure about them. The platforms, upon which these gigantic statues are raised, are of mason work, and some of them are thirty or forty feet long, twelve or sixteen broad, and from three to twelve in height. They are built, or rather faced, with stones of a very large size, and the workmanship is not inferior to the best plain piece of masonry we have in England. They use no sort of cement; yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones morticed and tenanted one to another in a very artful manner. We could hardly conceive how these islanders, wholly unacquainted with any mechanical power, could raise such stupendous figures, and afterwards place the large cylindrical stones (bonnets) upon their heads.\*

There is one species of proof, to which authors and travellers have not sufficiently turned their attention. It has been observed, that nations preserve no parts of their economy, with so much exactness, as their games, sports, and amusements. Being daily

\* Cook's Voyages, vol. i. p. 294.



repeated, they can seldom be forgotten; and, as they are chiefly confined to the young, they have the best chance of making a permanent impression. Something like chess has been found both in Chili and Hindostan; but, if there are any other instances of similarity between the natives of the two hemispheres, they have either escaped our research, or have never been discovered. Perhaps the catalogue of savage amusements is rather limited; and there is one, at least, among the Tungusians of Asia, which, as it is hardly of a kind to be perpetuated, has not, we believe, been found in America. ‘When they are inclined to divert themselves together,’ we are told, ‘they form themselves into a ring; and one of them stands in the middle, having a long staff in his hand, with which, in turning around, he strikes at the legs of one of the company, who so nimbly lifts it up, and so dexterously avoids the blow, that it is very seldom that any is hit; but if any is touched, he is ducked till he is all over wet.’\*

We believe, we have now mentioned the most pointed resemblances between the nations of the Old and New Worlds; and, if they are stated in rather a desultory manner, it must be remembered, that, where there is so much variety, there can be little order. The reader must again be warned against too implicit a reliance upon the argument from similarities. Of the various

\* HARRIS’ Voyages, vol. i. p. 929.

customs, which are said to reflect each other, some have only been observed in the outline, and filled up by conjecture; while others, which may have been thoroughly ascertained, often differ in ten particulars, where they coincide in one. Travellers always know too much. Not content with merely recording what they see, they surmise its causes or its ends; and, if by some fortuitous association, what they see, in one place, brings to mind what has been seen, in another, a few points of obscure resemblance must support the hasty inference of total similarity. Thus, in our first account of tobacco and its uses, the Indians are said to suck at the stem of the pipe, until their bodies get so full of smoke, that it puffs out from the mouth and nostrils;\* and, because the smoke, in its ascent, curls like incense from an altar, a subsequent writer thinks the coincidence sufficient to prove the derivation of tobacco smoking from a well known ceremony of the Jewish ritual.†

\* HACK. Voy. vol. iii. p. 224. Carter's Second Voyage. 1535. 'There groweth also a certain kind of herbe, whereof in sommer they make great provision for all the year, making great account of it, and only men use of it, and first they cause it to be dried in the sun, then wear it about their necks, wrapped in a little beast's skin made like a little bag, with a hollow piece of wood like a pipe: then when they please they make powder of it, then put it in one of the ends of the said cornet or pipe, and laying a coal of fire upon it, at the other end sucking so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it cometh out of their mouth and nostrils, even as out of the tunnel of a chimney.'

† BOUDINOT, pp. 173, 174.

A group of pyramids, again, have been discovered in Mexico; and, though the natives have a tradition, that they were erected in honour of the sun, an eminent traveller says, 'it appears certain, however, that they served as burying places for the chiefs of tribes.'<sup>\*</sup> The inference was deduced from the supposition, that the pyramids of Egypt were designed for the same purpose; and that supposition has recently suffered a shock of improbability, which it will not soon recover. After much expense of time and labour, one of the largest structures was penetrated to the base. In a central chamber, the traveller found a tomb; and, in the tomb, a bone. The precious relick was transported to England; and, after puzzling the anatomists, for a considerable time, could, at last, be assigned to no animal but a cow.

We have mentioned one particular, in which the nuptials of the Hindoos correspond with those of the Mexicans. We might enumerate many, in the Hindoo ceremony, which are not in the Mexican; and as many, in the Mexican, which are not in the Hindoo. In Mexico, for instance, the bridegroom does not go in procession to the house of the bride's father: the couple are not there bound together with grass: the bridegroom does not clothe the bride with the wedding garments; nor make oblations to fire, upon which

\* Humboldt's Polit. Essay, vol. ii. p. 44.

the bride drops rice; nor, in the evening, delicately suggest the value of constancy, by pointing at the pole star. Among the Hindoos, on the other hand, the young man's oldest female relations do not visit the parents of the girl at midnight: he is not infallibly rejected at the first suit: elderly women are not, at last, deputed to communicate the assent of the girl's father and mother: the bride is not conducted to the house of her father-in-law: the married couple do not, at the feast, give mouthfuls to each other; neither do they remain, fasting and praying, for four days, in the nuptial chamber.

Writers, who attempt to deduce one nation from another, by similarities of political or social institution, are not only prone to forget those customs, which distinguish the one from the other; but to overlook those particulars of difference, which are often found in customs partially coincident. Our objection, however, is not so much to the fidelity of their statements, as to the logic of their conclusions. Granting every fact, which they suppose to be ascertained, we are yet so blind, or so bigotted, as not to see, that such data can sufficiently warrant any inference, either for or against their hypotheses. We do not believe it possible to trace the origin of any people merely by a similarity of customs. 'The barbarous nations, which overran Europe,' says an eminent his-



torian, 'settled in their new territories at different times; came from different countries; spoke various languages; and were under the command of separate leaders.'<sup>\*</sup> Different sets of these heterogeneous clans, at length, became assimilated, and grew into distinct nations; which, though they must retain some traces of their elementary constituents, are yet as different from any one original member, as they are from each other. These facts we learn from the records of history: but, were we destitute of such lights, and left to grope our way by the frail and mutable indicia of coincident manners, should we have ever detected the Goths and Vandals of the dark ages in the people of modern France, or modern Italy? Should we have ever known, indeed, that such nations as the Goths and Vandals once existed in the *officina gentium*, and afterwards, if we may so express ourselves, surrounded and took the Roman empire?<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> ROSS, Ch. V. vol. i. p. 10.

<sup>†</sup> A great analogy still subsists in the languages of the European nations; but nothing of this kind has been discovered among our aborigines. 'Imperfect as is our knowledge of the tongues spoken in America,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'it suffices to discover the remarkable fact, that, arranging them under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced, and doing the same by the red men of Asia, there will be found probably twenty in America, for one in Asia, of those radical languages, so called, because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only; but for two dialects to recede from one another, till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin, must require an immense course of time;

There can be no doubt, we think, that the coincidences, which have been discovered, between the natives of the two hemispheres, establish the identity of the human race;—not, however, by showing, that those of the one are descended from those of the other; but by proving, that both are descended from a common stock; are endowed with the same attributes; and will act in the same manner, under similar circumstances. Barbarism and civilization must mean essentially the same things, at all times and in all places; and, if the extremes are alike, there can be no material difference in the intermediate terms. Were two nations created at the same time, and placed on opposite sides of the globe, we should naturally expect, from the similarity of their constituent principles, that their advances to civilization would be parallel, at least, if the lines did not occasionally run into each other. Their habits and institutions must necessarily be modified by many differences of circumstance; but the progress of each must, at its several steps, bear the marks of coincident improvement. We have evidence enough to conclude, that the same emotions must be manifested in similar modes; that similar wants must require the same sup-

perhaps not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language having taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia.' JEFF. Notes, Quer. xi.

plies; that similar tastes must be gratified in the same manner; that, in short, similar states of society must produce habits and institutions, which, in their great outlines, have a resemblance to each other.

There are even many things common to us and the lower animals. We have never known either man or beast to adopt but one course, when struck with violent fear:—they uniformly run. Anger is generally accompanied by a disposition to revenge; and always vents itself upon the object, which occasions it, or upon the first thing, which it encounters. The miss chastises her perverse doll; and the grown person dashes his obstinate boot across the room. Grief, too, when excessive, is generally attended with a species of resentment; and, if the Mexicans, like the Jews, are found to rend their garments, in violent lamentation, it does not prove that the Mexicans are descended from the Jews,—but that both Jews and Mexicans are descended from Adam. The whole living creation, so far as they have any attributes in common, are observed to be affected in a similar manner by the same things; and, if man leaves other animals behind, in the race of improvement, it is only because his capacities are more numerous, and his nature more noble. The development of faculties peculiar to himself, must, one would suppose, be regulated by the same principles as that of those, which

he shares with meaner animals; and no accidental differences of situation can so vary or disguise the results as completely to destroy the evidence of identical constitution.

This remark may appear too metaphysical; but it is the only one, we think, which the facts sufficiently authorize us to make; and, perhaps, the consideration of a few examples will show, that it is neither hasty, nor fanciful. In Mexico and Hindostan, as we have seen, the garments of the bride and bridegroom are tied together, in token of union. What is a reality, among nations still somewhat rude, becomes a metaphor with such as are more civilized; and, accordingly, in most countries of modern Europe, we believe, *the knot* is a figurative expression for marriage. Some nations in America, as well as in North Asia, are observed to build their houses by making a conical stack of rude poles. This is architecture in its most simple elements; and the fact does not prove, that the Americans have learnt it from the Asiatics; but that men, in their savage state, will devise the same means of protecting themselves from the weather.

There are similarities of custom between nations, which no person can suppose to have been originally the same. The Patagons, for example, are by no means likely to have been a branch of the Arabs; and yet, like the Arabs, they have the custom of throwing



sand into the air, upon the appearance of strangers.\* Neither can it be seriously pretended, that the ancient inhabitants of Britain were ever the same people with our aborigines: yet the Druids, like some tribes of Indians, computed time by moons and nights, instead of suns and days;† and, if the Highland clans are mustered by presenting the bloody cross, the Cherokees call their warriors together, by circulating the painted tomahawk. Almost all savage nations have been known to daub themselves with paint; to devolve all work upon females; to place all virtue in strength and courage; to employ bows and arrows in fighting; and to think nothing conquest, which is not extermination. The most distant races have some parallel institutions; and we remember to have observed the same custom among the Highlanders of Scotland and the natives of Central Asia.

Nor are these resemblances found among savage nations alone. In our speculations concerning mankind, we refer many things to chance, which subsequent information, or sounder views, will trace to the natural progress of the human mind. The invention of printing, once admired as the creature of accident, is now seen to have been the necessary offspring of

\* HARRIS' Voy. vol. i. p. 8.—RILEY's Narrative of the wreck of the brig Commerce, 1st edit. p. 27.

† HEN. Hist. of Eng. 4to edit. vol. i. p. 256.

particular circumstances;\* and, so predestined a step is it, indeed, in the march of civilization, that, whatever credit we may give to Coster, or Geinsfleisch, or Faust, the Chinese could boast of the same invention more than eight hundred years before these men were born.† Gunpowder is another improvement, which we have attributed to chance. Now, the earliest inventor of such a composition, in Europe, was Roger Bacon,‡ who flourished in the thirteenth century: it was not until the sixteenth, that the invention was published and used; and we are told, that both gunpowder and bombs were both common in China, a hundred years before they were known in Europe.§ The first of these inventions, at least, could not have been made common by imitation: the other was probably original in both countries; and yet these are, perhaps, the last things, which we should attribute to the natural progress of society.

Those who derive our aborigines from the nations of the other hemisphere, speak with some triumph upon the subject of mounds, temples, and pyramids. Such things have been found in all parts of the globe; and, while those of the New World are traced to those of the Old, a connexion is discovered between the

\* SISMONDI *Lit. Du Mid.* t. ii. pp. 24-28.

† GIBB. *Rom. Emp.* 8vo. edit. Lond. vol. vii. p. 94.

‡ HEN. *Hist. Eng.* 4to. vol. iv. p. 439.

§ GIBB. *Rom. Emp.* vol. vi. p. 123.

shapeless piles of some Atlantic states, the more regular tumuli of the Mississippi, and the perfect pyramids of Mexico. What others take for proof of derivative knowledge, we consider as the mere evidence of similar constitution;—those principles of architecture, which our predecessors suppose mankind to have learned at the Tower of Babel, and to have retained since their dispersion, we trace to those immutable laws of the human mind, which, while they direct the species to similar objects, lead them to adopt the same modes of accomplishment. We do not carry our philosophy so far as to think, for instance, that commerce had its origin in a ‘propensity in human nature to truck and barter;’ or that the extraordinary price, which we pay for certain commodities, is occasioned by ‘the esteem, which men have for dexterity and ingenuity:’\* But that the acknowledged principles, which enter into the composition of our race, should prompt men to take similar courses for the attainment of similar ends, does not appear to us so violent a conclusion, as that of supposing mankind to have retained, by tradition, certain notions of architecture, which they got from a tower erected more than four thousand years ago.

Perhaps it would be idle to think of tracing the progress of monuments from their rudest to their most

\* SMITH’S *Wealth of Nat.* b. i. chh. ii. vi

perfect state. Though we may have reason and experience sufficient to draw the general conclusion, that similar occasions will produce a similarity of conduct, we are not yet so much enlightened as to analyse the motives of men, and explain each particular step, by which they severally arrive at the same result. Without such data as, either in kind or number, are calculated to afford us much support, we deceive ourselves with false analogies; are betrayed into inferences, which the facts do not warrant; and tempted to supply the gaps of knowledge by the suggestions of imagination. If, therefore, we make an attempt to throw some light upon the history of pyramids, the reader is not to suppose, that we have satisfied ourselves,—much less, that we expect to satisfy him.

There is no notion so universal, among mankind, as that of supposing themselves to have been created of earth. Many tribes of American Indians are known to believe, that they came out of the ground: the early Athenians wore golden grasshoppers in their hair, as an emblem of their terrestrial origin;\* and, when Xenophon's Cyrus came to die, he said to his sons, 'Do not enclose my body in gold, or in silver, or in any such thing: but put it in the ground as speedily as possible. What can be a greater blessing than to be mixed with that earth, which brings forth and nour-

\* THUCYD. HIST. I. I. —ANC. UN. HIST. vol. vi. art. ATHENIANS.



ishes every thing, that is either beautiful or beneficial? I have been a philanthropist in all other respects; and nothing can better please me, now, than to share the common lot of all good men.\* The custom of mingling dead bodies with earth, is common to our whole race. The most obvious mode of effecting the object is, not by digging graves,—to which the skill and instruments of a savage are unequal; but by placing the body upon the ground, and covering it with such loose earth and stones as can be readily procured.

Another natural propensity of the mind has given rise to the general custom of burying the dead in the neighbourhood of each other; and more particularly, when they have died by the same pestilence, or in the same battle. A number of corpses, buried by the side of each other, in the mode just alluded to, must, of itself, make something of a mound; and, when increased by additional layers, would ultimately rise to such a tumulus as may be seen among every barbarous nation. Nor is this altogether a fancy. We know, that some Indians are in the habit of collecting the bones of those who have fallen in battle, to deposit them ‘in their friendly magazines of mortality;† and by penetrating one of the mounds, which formerly existed in Virginia, it has been discovered, that, on a level with the circumjacent plain, there was a stratum

\* XEN. *Cyrop.* l. viii.

† ADAIR'S *Hist. of the Amer. Ind.*

of bones, covered with stones and earth; which was succeeded by 'another stratum of bones, and so on.'<sup>\*</sup>

The mound once erected, we should be sorry theorists, if we could find no use for it. And perhaps the most obvious, is that of religious worship. The solemnity of the tomb would be apt to suggest such a purpose; and the idea, which savages have been known to entertain of the Great Spirit, would render the top of a mound the fit place to proffer their devotions. The ancient Germans supposed, that any attempt to circumscribe the presence of Deity, was an impious profanation: his only temple, in their view, was the universe; and, whenever an edifice, erected for his worship, fell into their hands, they never failed to rase it to the ground.† The emotions, which we experience, on the summit of any high place, are congenial with such ideas of divinity; and, that we may not want facts to support us at every step, we are assured, that altars were anciently erected on mounds,‡ and that the Mexicans perform their religious rites upon the top of the Great Temple, of which our tumuli are supposed to be the elementary models.§

We might even attempt to account for the fact, that this Great Temple is composed of five distinct

\* JEFF. Notes. Quer. xi.

† ROB. Ch. V. vol. i. p. 213.

‡ BRYANT'S Analysis of Anc. Mythology.

§ CLAVIG. Hist. Mex.—HUMB. Research.

parts or stories, decreasing in regular progression, from the lowest to the highest. In the erection of a mound, the consistence of the pile, as well as the facility of ascent, would require, that each succeeding stratum should be less than that on which it is laid; and thus, what is considered as sufficiently mysterious to demand an appeal to the temple of Belus, or the Tower of Babel, may have been the natural result of necessity and convenience. From the temple, we may easily pass to the pyramid. Indeed, the temple itself is but a truncated pyramid; and, as the same symbols of worship have been found on the summits of both, there is no occasion of wonder, in deriving the one from the other.

These successive improvements were not the offspring of stationary barbarism: they are the evidences of improvement in society itself; and perhaps, indeed, the progress of a nation, from rudeness to refinement, may be traced, step by step, from the amorphous hillock to the finished pyramid. The same peace, which, by inspiring security, induces us to construct edifices of durable materials, brings with it a taste for luxury, and adds to the disposition of making things permanent, the desire of rendering them beautiful. First, we have a shapeless barrow of earth and stones; next, a more regular pile of loose stones alone; then, a still



more perfect structure of stones, fitted to each other by the hand of art;—a temple, of stones squared and cemented together; and, lastly, the temple elongated to a pyramid. Structures, in all these states, have been found in various parts of the globe; and the most striking analogies are sometimes discovered between the earthy mounds and the stone pyramids.

On a plain, near St. Louis, there is, we are told, ‘a group of mounds, mostly of a circular shape, and, at a distance, resembling enormous hay cocks, scattered in a meadow.’ One of the largest is, at the bottom, about two hundred paces in circumference: the form is square; and the top level. From this, may be seen ‘twenty other mounds or pyramids, besides a great number of small artificial elevations;’ which are all disposed in a semicircle of about a mile in extent.\* ‘It is remarkable,’ say another traveller, ‘(especially if we call to mind the assertions of Pococke, as to the symmetrical position of the lesser pyramids of Egypt,) that, around the temples of the sun and moon at Theotihuacan, (in Mexico,) we find a group, I may say a system of pyramids, of scarcely nine or ten metres, (twenty-nine or thirty feet). These monuments, of which there are several hundreds, are disposed in very large streets, which follow exactly the direction of the parallels, and of the

\* BRACKENRIDGE’s Views of Louisiana, p. 173.



meridians, and which terminate in the four faces of the two great pyramids.\*

These coincidences are, at first, sufficiently wonderful; and wonder is apt to take refuge in the first conclusion, which presents itself. Men are formed for society; and, being endowed with reason, do many things by concert, which the lower animals, guided only by instinct, must perform individually. Instinct, so far as it goes, is, perhaps, a more steady guide than reason. But we know not, why the results of the one should appear more marvellous than those of the other; and, while philosophers are exclaiming upon the analogies between the monuments of the Old and New Worlds,† we would ask them to explain the simple fact, that the birds of the other hemisphere construct their nests in precisely the same manner with the birds of this?

If, then, there be any truth in the foregoing observations, the coincidences which have been discovered between the inhabitants of the two worlds, neither prove that they are,—nor, that they are not,—branches of the same national stock; and, until the question is decided by some new topic of evidence,

\* HUMB. Polit. Essay, vol. ii. p. 44.

† Ibid. ‘What analogies with the monuments of the old continent!—and this people, who, on arriving in the seventh century on the Mexican soil, constructed on an uniform plan, several of those colossal monuments, and truncated pyramids divided by layers, like the temple of Belus or Babylon:—Whence did they take the model of these edifices?’

or some indubitable statement of history, either sacred or profane, we shall continue to think, that authors have not yet detected the origin of our aborigines. What profane history may hereafter come to light, we know not; and, though the scriptural is sufficiently familiar, our ignorance of the original language, and slender skill in theology, forbid us to attempt an interpretation of its words. That Moses knew little of astronomy, perhaps no person will think it worth while to deny; and, that he might, in like manner, have been ignorant of the New World, there may be equal reason to conclude. Yet this is a mystery, which may never be unravelled; and, if any new light is to be thrown upon the subject, we must expect it from other sources.

One of our own philosophers has suggested an organ of proof, which, notwithstanding what we have said, upon the inconclusiveness of etymologies, may still be entitled to consideration. ‘Language,’ he says, ‘is the best proof of the affinity of nations;’ and, ‘were vocabularies formed of all the languages spoken in North and South America, preserving their appellations of the most common objects in nature, of those which must be present to every nation, barbarous or civilized, with the inflections of their nouns and verbs, their principles of regimen and concord, and these deposited in all the public libraries, it would furnish opportunities to those skilled in the languages of the

world, to compare with these, now, or at any future time, and hence to construct the best evidence of the derivation of this part of the human race.\*

Were it possible to achieve so vast a work,—could vocabularies and grammars be carefully formed of all the American tongues, and persons be found sufficiently skilful in all the dead and living languages of the Old World, to make such a comparison as is here recommended,—the result might decide the question, in one way or the other. It would, however, require a very formidable catalogue of similar words to convince us, that the languages of this continent were derived from those of the other; and no analogies of regimen, concord, or inflection, could, in our opinion, have much weight in the scale. Philosophical grammar is equally applicable to all languages. It would, indeed, be almost an absurdity, in terms, to say, that two tongues may be formed upon principles, which materially differ from each other. Agreement, regimen, and inflection, are as essential to language, as cords and weights to a pulley; and, though the modes of arrangement may, in both cases, be considerably varied, the principles must always remain the same. It would be illiberal to prejudge the efficacy of the suggested experiment; but it appears to us, that the prospect of discovery is hardly sufficient to counter-balance the difficulty of the enterprise.



## SECTION II.

Doubtful History.—Whether the United States have been inhabited by two distinct Races of Indians?—Verazan's Voyage—De Soto's Expedition—Ribaud's—Laudoniere's—Differences between the former and present Indians—Statement of the Reasons for and against the Supposition of two distinct Races.

IT is a relief to escape from the dark and thorny questions, with which we have hitherto perplexed ourselves; even though we can only fly to such as are still involved in considerable obscurity. Some authors have supposed, that the territory, which now belongs to the United States, was originally inhabited by a half civilized people, who have been exterminated by the savages; and it must be confessed, that the differences, which may be found, between the aborigines of fifteen hundred and those of the present day, either prove, that the first were a distinct race from the last,—or that, if the last are the posterity of the first, they have suffered a process of degeneration, almost unexampled in the history of mankind.

Our earliest accounts of the aborigines are derived from the voyage of Verazan, and the travels



of De Soto; the first of which was set on foot by the French, in 1524; and the last, by the Spanish, 1538. Verazan started in the beginning of 1524; and, about the middle of March, touched the American continent, near the twenty-eighth degree of north latitude.\* His first sight was a ‘great store of people;’ ‘many of them well favoured, having black and great eyes, with a cheerful and steady look, not strong of body, yet sharp-witted, nimble, and exceeding great runners.’† Sailing to the north, he every where discovered ‘multitudes of inhabitants;’ and he generally uses the same language in the description of their appearance and character:—they were ‘of mean (middle) stature, handsome visage, and delicate limbs, and of very little strength, but of prompt wit.’‡ In one place, he finds them ‘courteous and gentle;’ and, in another, ‘of sweet and pleasant countenance, imitating much the old fashion.’ ‘The women,’ he says, ‘were very handsome and well favoured, of pleasant countenance, and comely to behold;’ ‘as well mannered and continent as any women, and of good education.’§ The men, moreover, were ‘very jealous’ of their wives; and would never suffer them to come within two hundred paces of the shore.||

\* HAKLUYT’S Voyages, vol. iii. p. 295.

Ibid. p. 297

§ Ibid. p. 298.

† Ibid. p. 296.

‡ Ibid. p. 299.

A traveller of the present day would find scarcely any of these traits in the character of our Indians. They are by no means remarkable for sweetness of countenance, delicacy of limbs, or gentleness of manners. They are a tall, muscular, fierce looking people; who put all their drudgery upon their squaws; and, holding them in little estimation, never think it worth while to guard against their infidelity. Jealousy, indeed, is the offspring of civilization. When men begin to have some pleasures besides war and the chase, and other standards of excellence than strength and courage, female virtue finds its proper level, and women, from servants, become wives.

Nor are these the only particulars, in which the accounts of a modern traveller would differ from those of Verazan. The natives, according to the latter, were, in part, an agricultural people. Their principal food consisted of beans and corn; though, for a change, they occasionally took beasts, birds, and fish.\* They prepared the ground, by digging it up with a sort of wooden spade; and ‘observed in their sowing,’ we are told, ‘the course of the moon and the rising of certain stars.’† They even might be said to cultivate the vine. ‘Having oftentimes seen the fruit thereof dried,’ says

\* HACKLUIT’S *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 290. According to Laudoniere, their hunting months were January, February, and March. *Ibid.* p. 341.

† *Ibid.* pp. 224. 299.

Verazan, 'which was sweet and pleasant, and not differing from ours, we think that they esteem the same, because that in every place where they grow, they take away the under branches growing round about, that the fruit thereof may ripen the better.\*

This navigator followed nearly the whole coast of the present United States; but he stayed at no place long enough to explore the interior; and his accounts of the natives are necessarily brief and imperfect. De Soto, on the contrary, spent more than four years in making a progress through his dominions, as president of Florida;† and the history of his enterprise contains, perhaps, the only notices, in any detail, of the character, habits, and general economy of the earlier aborigines.‡ The book appears to be little

\* HACKLUTT'S Voyages, vol. iii. p. 297.

† This name,—derived from *Pascha Florida*, or Palm-Sunday, because the land was discovered on that day,—then included an indefinite extent of territory, north and west of the present Floridas. HACK. vol. iii. p. 305.

‡ We have never seen this book in the original; and we have heard, that no great pains were taken to make it generally known. In 1609, when the English began to think of planting colonies here, Hackluyt procured a copy, and turned it into English, under the title of 'Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour: out of the four yeeeres continuall travell and discoverie for above one thousand miles east and west, of DON FERDINANDO DE SOTO, and six hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truly observed the riches and fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable for the life of man: with the natures and dispositions of the inhabitants. Written by a Portugall gentleman of Eluas, employed in all



known in this country; and we shall exhibit its contents to the reader, by following the course of the expedition.

Ferdinand De Soto was the son of a squire of Xerez, near Bajadoz, in Spain. He adventured to the West Indies, as a soldier of fortune, under Governor Arias; who soon rewarded his courage, by giving him a troop of horse; and still further promoted his views, by assigning him a post under Pizarro. As he displayed more gallantry than the other captains, he obtained a greater portion of the booty; and, when he returned to Spain, he had exchanged his sword and target for one hundred and eighty thousand ducats. He married Donna Isabella, the daughter of Arias; and the emperor made him governor of Cuba, president of Florida, and marquis of a part of the lands, which he might conquer. He was joined by many rich persons from various parts of Spain: six hundred men were disposed in seven ships; and, in the month of April, 1538, the expedition left the harbour of Seville.

On Whit-Sunday, they reached Cuba. St. Jago, Baraoa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, St. Esperito, and Havanna, were then the only towns in the island; and the first, which now contains forty thousand in-

the action, and translated out of the Portugese by RICHARD HACKLUTT Lond. Felix Kyngstan for Mathew Lownes.' Small 4to. p. 180.



habitants, was a village of eighty houses, composed, for the most part, of boards and thatch. Among the other native productions, we find 'a fruit, whereby many people are sustained, and chiefly the slaves, which are called batatas. These grow now in the island of Terçera, belonging to the kingdom of Portugal, and they grow within the earth, and are like a fruit called iname; they have almost the taste of the chesnut.\*

\* We have been thus particular in copying this description, because, in the systematic hostility, which some English journals pursue, to every thing American, it has recently been suggested, in the shape of a wonder, that the New World was not the original country of the potatoe. 'It is a singular fact,' we are told, 'that, in all the extent of territory traversed by Messrs. Humbolt and Bonpland, they neither met with, nor could hear of, the potatoe growing in its native wildness; nor had it been discovered in any part of America till very recently, when the authors of the *Flora Peruviana* are said to have found the common species (*solanum tuberosum*) growing in a wild state in the mountains of Chili, with a new and edible species larger than the common one.' Quarterly Review, No. xxxv. p. 141. Here are a mis-statement, a mistake, and a prevarication. The *Flora Peruviana* was not composed by 'authors;' but by a single individual: and, while the text refutes the assertion, that the potatoe was not, 'till very recently, discovered in any part of America,' another journal, published under the same roof with the one just quoted, will enable us to remove all the doubts, which are veiled under the words 'are said.' 'Don Joze Pavon,' we are informed, 'the celebrated author of the *Flora Peruviana*, who resided many years in South America, says, 'the *solanum tuberosum* grows wild in the environs of Lima, in Peru, and fourteen leagues from Lima, on the coast. I have, also, found it wild in the kingdom of Chili.' The Indians cultivate it in great abundance in Peru and Chili, and call it papas. It is said, also, to have been found in the forest near Santa Fe de Bagola.' Journal of Science and the Arts, vol. v. p. 198.

From St. Jago the soldiers went by land to Havana; whence they set sail, on the 18th of May, 1539; and, after a prosperous voyage of seven days, landed on the coast of Florida. The Indians of that day, it would seem, had a mode of transmitting intelligence by a rude kind of telegraph. The town, which De Soto first entered, was empty; and, 'he saw, along the coast,' we are told, 'many smokes, which the Indians had made, to give advice the one to the other.' Such fires were discovered by all the early voyagers; but, whether they were designed to communicate information, or merely to cook victuals, may not be perfectly certain.

'The towne,' says the historian, 'was of seven or eight houses. The Lorde's house stode neere the shore, upon a verie hie mount, made by hand for strength. At another end of the town stood the church, and on the top of it stood a fowle, made of wood, with gilded eies.' Travellers are so prone to bestow the same name upon things, which have little in common, that we are at a loss to know what is here meant by the word *church*. As it is mentioned in conjunction with the Lord's house, it gives us the idea of a modern place of worship; but the mound, upon which the Lord's house stood, might have been the reason of associating the two things together; and this church, like the temple of Mexico, would thus be nothing more

than a structure of earth, or wood, or stone, with the symbols of worship upon the top.

Soon after De Soto's arrival, one of his foraging parties encountered a body of the natives, with a Spaniard, by the name of Ortez, who had been a captive among them, for more than nine years.\* According to him, the Indians had a custom of depositing their dead in a sort of vault. When Ucita, upon the entreaty of his daughter, granted the life of his prisoner, he appointed him 'keeper of the temple: because that, by night, the wolves did carry the dead corpses out of the same.' What species of building this 'temple' was, we know not; but it seems, at any rate, to imply an improvement in tombs, of which our present Indians have no idea.

Ucita had, at length, determined to make a sacrifice of his captive; and it was only by the exertions of his daughter, that the design was frustrated. Ortez escaped to Mocoço, the king of another nation; who received him with joy, and had always treated him with kindness. It is considered, we think, as something of a refinement in the English law, that heathen witnesses are made to swear according to their own principles of religious faith. Savages, in their rudest state, are seldom known to use oaths at all: and yet, if Ortez is to be believed, Mocoço 'caused him pre-

\* See postea, p. 262



sently to swear according to the custom of the Christians, that he would not run away from him to any other lord.'

The country seems, at this time, to have been occupied by confederacies of twenty or thirty tribes; which, while they had their own particular phylarchs, owed allegiance to some supreme lord. Ortez told De Soto, that, thirty leagues from the town of Ucita, where his army first encamped, there was a sovereign, or 'paracossi,' to whom all the kings along the coast paid tribute. Laudoniere, also, speaks of a chief, who presided over a confederacy, and who was called, he says, 'Paracoussy Satouriou,' that is 'King Satouriou.'\* An officer, with fifty horse and thirty or forty foot, were despatched to hold an interview with the paracossi; but he sent word, by a deputation of thirty Indians, that he was ill, and could not leave his town. The Indians were asked, whether gold and silver might be found in any part of the country; and, when they answered, that, in a western province, called Cale, these precious metals were so abundant, that the inhabitants wore head-pieces made of gold, the officer rewarded their condescension, by putting them all in chains.†

\* HACKL. Voy. vol. iii. p. 321.

† This is what used to be termed 'the exercise of a just and pious violence against pagans and heathens;'—a doctrine, which interest once



De Soto is said to have ‘received great comfort,’ at the news of this achievement; and, stimulated by the prospect of a golden fleece, he left one hundred men at Spirito Santo, where he had first landed, and took his way, with the remainder, for the province of Cale. Passing through several smaller towns, he came, at length, to the land of promise; but, so little is hope ever realized by fruition, that, instead of loading themselves with bags of gold, our adventurers could not find maize enough to satisfy their hunger. They devoured the stalks, while yet too young to bear the cob; and, whenever any old corn was discovered, they were obliged to tritrate it, in rude mortars of wood, and sift the meal through their coats of mail.

On the 11th of August, 1539, the governor started from Cale; marched, that day, to Ytara; the 12th, to Potano; the 13th, to Utinama; the 14th, to a place, of which the name is not given; the 15th, to Cholupaha;

rendered so fashionable in Spain. In 1550, the question was disputed between the universities of Salamanca and Alcala, in a convention held at Valladolid. Lascasas was the champion of the Indians; and Sepulveda, of the Spaniards. A learned friar, of the name of *Soto*, presided as umpire; and gave his decision in favour of the former. But the doctrine of ‘pious violence’ was not confined to Spain. Even Hackluyt, an English prebendary, thus speaks of the mode, which should be adopted to convert the Indians. ‘To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serve, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serve, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow; I mean our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our preachers’ hands.’ Epist. Ded. to *Soto’s* Exped.

and the 17th, to Caliquen. As the last was the residence of a confederate chief, he made a stay until the 10th of September; when he set out for Apalache, another golden region; and, after a journey of five days, arrived at a place called Napetuca. The king of Caliquen had been seized for practising a trick upon our travellers; and, when he made his escape from his keepers, the governor caught him with a grey-hound. His subjects flocked from all quarters to obtain his release; and, instead of bringing such rude drums as are used by the present Indians, they came playing upon an instrument, which is here called a flute. Finding, that music and entreaty made little impression, they determined to try the efficacy of bows and arrows. But these proved equally unsuccessful. The natives fled at the first onset; and such as were not killed, plunged into two large lakes, and swam beyond the reach of the cross-bow. Men were stationed around the shore; and, in the course of the night, they detected the Indians swimming softly towards the bank, with water lillies upon their heads. No water lilly, therefore, was suffered to come near shore; and, as their last device had failed, the Indians now appealed to the commisseration of John Ortez. They were taken: divided among the company; and put in irons. Some broke loose and killed their masters; and De Soto, to cut short

the possibility of future annoyance, ordered the greater part to be tied up and shot.

On the 23d of September, he left Napetuca; and, passing through the great town of Hapaluya, lodged, on the 24th, at Uzachil. Supplying himself with maize, which was here found in great quantities, he started for Apalache, on the 27th. Two days brought him to Axille; and, on St. Francis' day, he entered Vitachuco. The inhabitants now began to grow numerous; and the maize abundant. On the 23d of October, the governor lodged in Uzela; and, in two days, arrived at Apalache. This was the residence of a supreme chief; and overlooked many smaller towns, filled with maize, pompions, beans, and plums. The soldiers found sumptuous fare; and, in one of their predatory excursions, they encountered some of the natives, who displayed more gallantry than is commonly found in a modern Indian. They were gathering French beans, with a woman; and 'though they might have fled, yet because they would not leave the woman, who was one of their wives, they resolved to die fighting.'

The governor now sent back a party to Spirito Santo; and was obliged to wait nearly four months, for its return. He had been twice disappointed in the expectation of finding countries replete with gold and silver; but, where there is avarice, there can be

no incredulity; and the tale of one of the captives, who described the whole process of working mines, and refining the ores, induced De Soto to start on the 3d of March, 1540, for the rich country of Uupaha. On the 9th, he came to Capachiqui; and, on the 21st, to Toalli.

‘From thence forward,’ says the historian, ‘there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind us were thatched with straw; and those of Toalli were covered with reeds, in manner of tiles. These houses were very cleanly.\* Some of them had walls daubed with clay, which showed like a mud wall. In all the cold countries, the Indians have every one a house for the winter, daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night, that they need not clothes: and besides these, they have others for summer; and their kitchens near them, where they make their fire and bake their bread: and they have barbacoas wherein they keep their maize;

\* The whole of this account bespeaks a state of improvement, much beyond that of the present Indians; and perhaps the difference will be remarked in nothing more than in the article of cleanliness. Ribaud, who sailed in 1562, has also mentioned a precaution, in this respect, which the lords of the forest would now disdain to take. He was invited to witness the feast of Toya; and, when he came to the spot, in which it was to be celebrated, he ‘saw many women round about, which laboured by all meanes to make the place clean and neat.’ HACK. Voy. vol. iii. p. 315.



which is an house set vp in the aire vpon four stakes, boorded like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which lords or principall mens houses have from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they have great galleries in their fronts, and under them seates made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they have many lofts, wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is maiz, deerres skins, and mantles of the country, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barkes of trees, and some of kind of grasse like unto nettles, which, being beaten, is like unto flaxe.\* The women couer themselves with these mantles;—they put one about them from the wast downward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arme out, like unto the Egyptians.† The men weare but one mantle upon their shoulders, after the same manner; and haue their secrets hid with deere's skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in Spain. The skins are

\* This account will serve to explain the mystery of the linen sheets and twilled blankets, which were found about the bodies dug up in the western country.

† One of Ribaud's kings had carried the luxuries of dress and furniture to a still greater extent. 'His house was hanged about with tapistrie of feathers of diuers colours, the hight of a pike. Moreouer, the place where the king tooke his seat, was couered with couerlettes, embroydered with deuises of very wittie and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe dyed in the colour of scarlet.' Hack. p. 316.

well corried, and they giue them what colour they list, so perfect, that, if it be red, it seemeth a very fine clothe in graine, and the black is most fine: and of the same leather they make shooes; and they die their mantles in the same colours.\*

The governor left Toalli on the 24th of March; and, passing, among other towns, Achese and Altamaca, arrived at Ocute, on the 10th of April. The king sent him two thousand Indians with a present of ‘many conies, and partridges, bread of maize, two hens, and many dogs.’ The latter animal seems to have been very common; and, unless the historian misapplied the name, or the translator mistakes the original, we have here another particular, in which the earlier aborigines differed from those, who were found by the first English colonists.†

\* If we may rely upon the taste of MM. Ribaud and Laudoniere, the early aborigines had acquired a skill in the pictorial art, of which there is no parallel among the present Indians. The former received, from one of the kings, ‘a great skin, painted and drawn throughout with the pictures of diuers wilde beastes, so liuely drawn and purtrayed, that nothing lacked but life.’ HACK. Voy. vol. iii. p. 308. M. Laudoniere speaks, in the most rapturous language, of the figures upon a skin worn by ‘Paracoussy Satourioua.’ He says, ‘it was painted with deuices of strange and diuers colours, but of so liuely a portraiture, and representing antiquity, with rules so justly compossed, that there is no painter so exquisite that could find fault therewith: the natural disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided, that without any ayd and favour of artes, they are able by the help of nature only to content the eye of artizans, yea, even of those which, by their industry, are able to aspire unto things most absolute.’ *Ibid.* p. 321.

† HARRIS’ Voyages, vol. i. p. 222.

From Ocute, the governor went to Cofaqui; and from Cofaqui to Patofa. He had now chased the rainbow for about three hundred and fifty leagues. The inhabitants of Patofa assured him, that the captive, who told the story of gold mines, was leading his soldiers into a wilderness: but De Soto 'was a stern man;' and, taking seven hundred Indians to carry the baggage, he set out, once more, for Uupaha. A journey of nine days, through a path, which became gradually more narrow, and was at length entirely lost, brought the party into a forest of pines. The captive had promised them the gold of Uupaha, in four days; and, if John Ortez could have understood any other Indian, the traitor would now have been cast to the dogs. Detachments were sent, in all directions, to find some human abode; and, though the parties came in, the first night, driving their disabled horses with sticks, and bringing no news of any habitation, they discovered, on the following day, a town called Aymay.

At Aymay, they found a storehouse full of flour, ground from parched maize. Four Indians were taken; and, because they refused to tell the governor, where he might find more towns, he ordered one of them to be burned. The others now confessed, that, at the distance of two days journey, there was a place called Cutifachiqui. It was governed by a queen; who, on the approach of De Soto, sent her sister,

with four canoes, to bid him welcome. She delivered a speech, and returned. ‘Within a little while,’ says our author, ‘the ladie herself came out of the towne in a chaire, whereon certaine of the principall Indians brought her to the riuer. She entered into a barge, which had the sterne tilted ouer, and on the floore her mat readie laied with two cushions vpon it, one vpon another, where she sate her downe; and with her came her principall Indians in other barges, which did wait vpon her.’\* She, also, made a speech; and, taking a cordon of pearls from her own neck, threw it around that of the governor.† The woods, about the town, were chiefly of walnut and mulberry trees:‡

\* Laudoniere speaks of a queen, who was equally revered. ‘She courteously received our men,’ says he ‘sent me back my barkes full of mill and acornes, with certaine baskets full of the leaues of *cassine*, where-with they make their drink. And the place, where this widow dwelleth is the most pleantiful of mill that is in all the coast, and the most pleasant. It is thought, that the queen is the most beautiful of all the Indians, and of whom they make the most account: yea, and her subjects honour her so much, that almost continually they beare her on their shoulders, and will not suffer her to go on foot.’ HACK. vol. iii. p. 339. Another queen is mentioned in p. 344.

† So the paracoussy, of whom we have already spoken, pulled off his rich mantel, and gave it to Laudoniere’s ambassador. HACK. vol. iii. p. 322.

‡ The marginal note is ‘mulberry trees for silke;’ and Ribaud tells us, that his men actually found the worms. ‘They came to a place, ‘where were great store of mulberry trees, white and red, on the toppes whereof were an infinite number of silke wormes.’ HACK. vol. iii. p. 309. The Chinese would probably deny this. They were, at any rate, the first manufacturers of silk; and the eggs of the insect were not brought into Europe, until the year 565



and, in the ‘storehouses,’ there were ‘great quantities of clothes, mantles of yarne made of the barks of trees, and others made of feathers, white, greene, red, and yellow;’ deer skins, ‘with many compartments traced in them, and some of them made into hose, stockings, and shoes.’

Perhaps the ancient Germans were the only rude people, who ever suffered themselves to be governed by women;\* and it was as late as 1185, before any female even attempted to sit upon the English throne. All savages have been known to hold the weaker sex in contempt; and, indeed, a state of society, in which little is done but to hunt wild beasts, or combat enemies, must necessarily devolve all power and importance upon the strong and the brave. ‘In the progress and settlement of the feudal law,’ says the English historian, ‘the male succession to fiefs had taken place some time before the female was admitted; and estates, being considered as military benefices, not as property, were transmitted to such only as could

\* TACIT. in vit. AGRIC. *Solent fœminarum ductu bellare, et serum in imperiis, non discernere.* The same custom may have prevailed, more or less, among all the Celtic nations; for our author gives us an account of Boadicea, the queen of the British Iceni; who led her subjects against the Romans; and, rather than be taken captive, destroyed herself with poison. Ann. l. 14. There is a great difference, however, between the ruler of a single tribe, and the empress of an extensive confederacy. The queen of Cutifachiqui was acknowledged and obeyed for the space of three hundred miles in one direction. DE SOT. p. 56.

serve in the armies, and perform in person the condition upon which they were originally granted. But after that the continuance of rights, during some generations, in the same family, had, in some measure, obliterated the primitive idea, the females were gradually admitted to the possession of feudal property; and the same revolution of principles, which procured them the inheritance of private estates, naturally introduced their succession to government and authority.\*

Such, however, was the antipathy to female domination, even in the 12th century, that, though Henry I. had made the barons often repeat their oaths of fealty to Matilda, Stephen thrust himself into her place, without the slightest opposition;† and, in spite of all the efforts, which were afterwards made to remove him, he continued to retain his seat. The English were hardly savages at this time; and, if, with such prejudices against the authority of women, *they* can boast of some improvement in the social order, what shall we say of our early aborigines; who, as we have seen, were not the mere subjects, but the abject slaves, of a female ruler? The order is entirely reversed among the present Indians. The squaws are

\* HUME's Hist. Eng. vol. ii. ch. vii.

† Ibid. 'Very few barons attended his coronation; but none opposed his usurpation, however unjust or flagrant.'

the slaves; and, while their lords may be seen bounding forward, with no encumbrance but the bow or the rifle, they trudge in the rear, with all the baggage of the household.

Notwithstanding the kindness, with which Governor De Soto had been treated by the queen of Cutifachiqui, he ordered her into his train; and, setting out on the 3d of May, for the province of Chiaha, of which he had heard captivating stories, he travelled through Chalaque and Xualla, and arrived at Guaxule, on the 20th. Queen Cutifachiqui escaped from him between the two former places; and all his efforts to retake her proved fruitless. He was now in a country, which bore little maize; and, that the king of Chiaha, might have time to prepare a supply, he sent forward a detachment to advise him of his approach. In two days, he passed Canasagua; and, on the 5th of June, entered Chiaha.

Besides twenty barns of maize, the soldiers found gourds filled with the fat of bears, a pot of honey, and a great quantity of the oil of walnuts. The town was situated upon an island; and, along both branches of the river, there were 'very good meadows and many fields sown with maize.'<sup>\*</sup> Having recruited his fol-

\* These terms do not appear to have been applied at random. Ver-  
razan saw 'fair fields and plaines:' Ribaud found 'a fair and great mea-  
dow;' and Laudoniere speaks of a place, where 'a man may behold the

lowers by a stay of thirty days, the governor prepared to depart, and asked the king to give him thirty women for servants. He said, 'he would confer with his chief men;' but the disappearance of the whole tribe, in one night, showed, that his answer had little correspondence with his determinations.\* A promise, that they should be unmolested, induced them to return; and the king assured De Soto, as an excuse for himself, that 'his subjects would not obey him, nor do any thing but what an uncle of his commanded, who governed the country for him, until he should be of perfect age.'† It is a mark of considerable improvement in society, when law takes the place of force; and hereditary title is set above personal competency. At the first institution of the Commons, in England,

meadows divided asunder into isles and islets interlacing one another.' HACK. pp. 296, 309-23.

\* On a similar occasion, the king of Mavilla 'sent for answer that he would speak with his principal men.' We have ever observed this delicate mode of refusal among rude savages. When the king of England rejects a bill, 'it is in the gentle language *le roi s'avisera.*' BLACK. Com. vol. i. p. 184. And, when the Roman consul told Antiochus to raise the siege of Alexandria—*regem, deliberaturum se dicentem, circumscrisit virgula*, &c. VEL. PATERC. 1593, p. 8.

† When Laudoniere seized King Utina, and there was no longer any prospect of his release, the Indians 'assembled themselves in the great house, and having called all the people together, they proposed the election of a new king, at which time the father in law of Utina set one of the king's young sons upon the royal throne: and took such pains, that every man did him homage by the major part of the voices.' HACK. vol. iii. p. 343.



the people were directed to choose not the wisest merely, but the strongest, men : *potentiores ad laborandum*.\* The leader of savages has little need of any qualification, but prowess; and the appointment of a protector, during the minority of a king, is indicative of much experience, and some civilization.

The governor departed from Chiaha, on the 26th of June; arrived at Coste, on the 2d of July; set out again, on the 11th; and, passing a multitude of towns, reached Coça, on the 26th. The king came forth to meet him, 'in a chaise, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and couered with a garment of marterns, of the fashion and bignes of a woman's huke: he had on his head, a diadem of feathers, and round about him many Indians playing vpon flutes, and singing.' The dominions of this king were rich and populous: 'full of good meadows vpon riueres,' and 'sowne fields, which reached the one to the other.' The Indians of the present day have nothing to compare with this.

After a halt of twenty-five days, the governor left Coça, on the 20th of August. Tallimuchase and Utana were the next towns. A river detained him at the latter for six days; and we are not told, on what day he entered Ullibahali. The towns now began to have

\* HEN. Hist. Eng. 4to. vol. v. p. 362.

walls, built with large posts thrust deep in the ground, connected by transverse poles, and bedaubed inside and out, with clay.\* Continuing his journey, at the rate of five or six leagues, the governor passed through many villages; and, on the 18th of September, arrived at Tallise. As there were many other towns in the neighbourhood, and the country was rich with corn, he tarried twenty days. On the 9th of October, he travelled to Casiste; and, the following day, encamped near the country residence of the Tascalucan king. His interview with this sovereign adds another example of the difference between the former and present Indians.

‘The cacique,’ says the historian, ‘was in his lodgings under a canopie: and, without doores, right

\* Carter gives us a description of the walled town of Hachelaga. ‘The citie,’ he says, ‘is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires, one within another, framed like a sharpe spire, but laide acrossse above. The middlemost of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The rampires are framed and fashioned with pieces of timber, layed along on the ground, very well and cunningly joyned together after their fashion. This enclosure is in hight about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrance thereat, which is shut with pikes, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to run along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defense of it. There are in the town about fifty houses about fifty paces long, and twelve or fifteen broad, built all of wood, covered over with the barke of the wood as hard as any board, very finely and cunningly joyned together. Within the said houses, there are many rooms, lodgings, and chambers.’ HACK. p. 220.

against his lodgings, in an high place they spread a mat for him, and two cushions one vpon another, where he sat him downe, and his Indians placed themselves round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void roome where he sate: and his chiefest men were nearest to him, and one with a shadow of deer'es skinne, which kept the sunne from him, being round, and of the bignes of a target, quartered with black and white, hauing a rundell in the middest: a farre off it seemed to be of taffata, because the colours were very perfect. It was set on a small staffe, streatched wide out. This was the deuice which he carried in his warres. He was a man of very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare, and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subjects. He was lord of many territories and much people: In his countenance, he was very graue. After the master of the campe had spoken with him, he and those that went with them coursed their horses, pransing them to and fro, and now and then towards the place where the cacique was, who with much grauitie and dissimulation now and then lifted up his eies, and beheld them as it were with disdain. At the gouernour's coming, he made no offer at all to rise.

The train of Laudoniere's paracoussy was borne

up by some of his subjects;\* and, when he encamped at night, a guard was stationed for his protection.† The chiefs of our present Indians, so far from being guarded themselves, think it their province to watch over their subjects. They carry no standards in war. They have nothing like an umbrella; and would equally disdain to confess their effeminacy, by seeking refuge from the sun, or to indulge themselves in the idle parade of having trains, to be borne up by their attendants. Savages are wont to stare at white men, with admiration; and, no doubt, Soto's master of the camp supposed, that the novelty of his horses, and the eclat of his manœuvres, would strike the king of Tascaluca with amazement. He looked upon the proud Spaniard with contempt; and hung his head for pity of his foolishness.

Nevertheless, De Soto impressed him into his service; and, still holding his course through a rich and populous country, came to the extensive town of Mavilla, on the 18th of October. The Indians of our day have no notion of military defences; and can hardly be seduced into a fort. Mavilla was a walled town; and, when De Soto appeared before it, the Indians, who had assembled from all quarters, stood ready to defend themselves through the loop-holes, and from the top, of their battlements. The governor thought

\* HACK. p. 322.

† Ibid. p. 340.



he might appease them, by entering the town with a few attendants. The king of Tascaluca asked liberty to speak with some of the Indian leaders; but, as soon as he got among his own people, no threat or entreaty of De Soto could induce him to return. A soldier laid hold of his martenn cloak; and, when he dexterously slipped it over his shoulders, the Spaniard struck him with his cutlass. The outrage was answered by a shower of arrows. The Spaniards were obliged to rely upon their feet; and the governor, being unused to run, fell twice before he reached his camp. He immediately ordered the town to be set on fire; and, marshalling his troops into four squadrons, attacked the walls with great fury. The Indians drove him back several times; and, when at last overpowered, they threw themselves into their burning houses, and perished, to the number of twenty-five hundred. Eighteen Spaniards, and twelve horses, were slain; and one hundred and fifty men were covered with seven hundred wounds.\*

\* The weapons of the Indians were very formidable. 'Their bowes,' says the historian, 'are uery long, and their arrowes are made of certaine canes like reedes, uery heauie, and so strong, that a sharpe cane passeth through a target. Some they arme in the pointe, which a sharpe bone of a fish, like a chisel, and in others they fasten certaine stones like points of diamants. For the most part, when they light vpon an armour, they breake in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coate of maile, and are more hurtful than the other.' Bows and arrows, when they are the only weapons of defence, must necessarily be

After a rest of twenty-eight days, the governor resumed his march, on the 18th of November; and, on the 17th of the following month, arrived at Chicaça. He remained in the neighbourhood of this town, more than two months. The Indians had time to concert measures of hostility; and, at the second watch, on the night of March, the 8th, 1541, the sound of a drum announced their assault, in four squadrons. De Soto's men were quartered in the town: the Indians remembered Mavilla: fire was set to all the houses; and, in the smoke, confusion, and uproar, so many of the soldiers were either killed or wounded, that, had not the natives been frightened by the horses, which broke loose, scarcely a Spaniard would have been left to acknowledge the justness of the retribution.

The Indians shortly after made a second attack; but they had been too slow in following up their advantage: the Spaniards beat them with little difficulty; and, after remaining long enough to repair his losses, the governor marched to Alimamu, on the 25th of

larger and stronger than such as are now found among the Indians. The Parthians have been chiefly celebrated for their mode of shooting on the retreat; but their wars with the Romans show, that their weapons were sufficiently terrible, when used in any manner; and we do not wonder, that, when the astrologer told Crassus, his expedition against Partha would prove unsuccessful, because the sign Scorpio wore a bad aspect, he answered, 'I fear not *Scorpio*, but *Sagittarius*.'

April. The Indians had again concentrated their forces; and were seen walking, with their weapons, upon the top of 'a strong fort.\* But the Spaniards once more put them to flight; and, for the seven days, consumed in reaching Quizquiz, they travelled without molestation. From Quizquiz, they went to a river, which was so broad, that, 'if a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned, whether he were a man or no.' The channel was very deep; the current strong; the water muddy, and filled with floating trees. The Mississippi still maintains her identity.

The governor was told by some Indians, who came to see him, shortly after his arrival, that they were

\* Our present Indians never wait for an enemy, except it be in some place of concealment. During the whole course of De Soto's expedition, we do not hear of any thing like a modern ambush. At Mavilla, parties frequently sallied from the walls, to attack the Spaniards in the open field; and, in the battle at the fort, here mentioned, they came in front 'by sevens and eights;' each rank discharging its arrows, and giving place to another. Laudoniere has a similar account. His lieutenant, Ottigney, he tells us, 'had to deal with such kind of men, as knewe well how to fight and to obey their head whiche conducted, and whiche knewe so well how to behaue themselves in this conflict, as if Ottigney had not preuented their practise, he had beene in danger to have bene defeated. Their manner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retyred themselves and gave place to the rest that were behind, and all the while had their eye and foot so quicke and ready, that, as soone as ever they saw the harquebuze laide to the cheeke, so soone were they on the ground, and eftsoone vp to answer with their bowes, &c.' *Начк. Voy. vol. iii. p. 346.* Our present Indians never fight with the least order; and their greatest skill in manœuvre, does not extend beyond lying in wait, or dodging behind a tree.

the subjects of Aquixo; a king of many towns, on the other side of the river, who intended to pay him a visit, with all his people. Accordingly, the next day, two hundred canoes were seen descending the river, which, it is said, were ‘very great and well made;’ ‘had their tilts, plumes, pausses, and flagges; and, with the multitude of people that were in them, seemed to be a faire armie of gallies.’ This description evinces a state of naval architecture, much beyond any thing among the present Indians, or among savage nations in general. The tilts or canopies were for the different chiefs. The warriors stood from head to stern; and not only carried their bows and arrows,—but held shields\* for the protection of the rowers. The whole fleet joined together; and, approaching within a stone’s throw of the shore, Aquixo made many fair speeches, and, at last, sent the governor three canoes, laden with fish, and a sort of cake, made of prunes. This seems to have been a mere visit of ceremony; and the king soon began to withdraw. De Soto ordered his cross-bowmen to let fly at the galleys. Five or six Indians fell; but the outrage, though unexpected, produced no disorder. Each kept his place; and the whole squadron retired, without breaking the line.

The Spaniards constructed four barges to cross

\* So, at Pacaha, ‘targets of raw ox hides’ were found. If the reader has ever seen pictures of Trojan ships, he will have a good idea of Aquixo’s fleet.



Rio Grande, as they called it; but, when they had reached the opposite shore, the complete desertion of Aquixo's town convinced them, that their violence was as impolitic as it was inhuman. The villages along the river were so frequent, that, from one, you might see two or three; and, as far as the sway of this king extended, the inhabitants fled before their 'pious' conquerors. The people of Casqui had no tidings of these Christian deliverers; and not only were they taken, and their towns sacked, without resistance,—but, to pay for their illumination, they were compelled to build a bridge over the stream, which divided their own territory from that of the people of Pacaha. The king of the latter was invited to an interview with the governor; but he, too, was, at first, insensible to the charms of a religion, propagated by the shaft and the cutlass. His towns were all abandoned to the meek followers of the cross; who found great numbers of mantles, besides deer, lion, bear, and cats' skins: and, having worn out their old garments, they made themselves new.

It was upon the 19th of June, that the governor entered the chief city of Pacaha. 'It was,' says the historian, 'very great; walled, and beset with towers, and many loopeholes were in the towers and wall. And in the towne was great store of old maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league

and half a league were great townes, all walled. Where the governor was lodged, was a great lake, that came neere unto the wall: and it entered into a ditch that went round about the towne, wanting but little to environ it round. From the lake to the Great River was mad a weare, by which the fish came into it; which the cacique kept for his recreation and sport: with nets, that were found in the towne, they took as much as they would.'

The Pacahans appear to have been sufficiently civilized to erect those mounds, along the Mississippi, which have occasioned so much wonder; and the passage, just extracted, forms a strange contrast to the description of a people, who were found in the same neighbourhood, about one hundred and forty years after the expedition of De Soto. In the place of splendid towns, with walls and battlements, there was here and there a cluster of hovels, composed of rough poles, set in a circle, or in parallel lines; united at the top; and covered with bark or skins: not intended for a permanent habitation,—but as a mere temporary shelter.\* Such a thing as a tower seems never to

\* JOVTEL's *Journal Historique du dernier Voyage que feu M. DE LA SALLE fit, &c.* A Paris. MDCCLXIII. Accounts of this expedition have also been given by LE CLERC, TONTY, and HENNEPIN. Jovtel appears to be the most worthy of credit. His narrative is related with great simplicity; and he does not seem to have been predisposed to find monsters. The account of La Salle's death bespeaks its own fidelity; and, in

have entered their imaginations; and, instead of ‘great gallies,’ they had ‘petits canots.’ The manners of the inhabitants were on a level with the style of their architecture. Their utmost ideas of pomp did not extend beyond a tumultuous concourse of warriors, bedecked with painted feathers, deer skin, and bits of cloth; shaking gourds filled with pebble stones; and, when at a short distance from their guests, tossing up their right hands, and whooping with all their might.\*

the quarrel, which began the tragedy, the reader may discover a trait of national character. It arose upon a difference of opinion respecting the mode of cooking some buffaloe’s meat. ‘En arrivant,’ says M. JOYTEL. le Sieur Moranget, (La Salle’s nephew,) trouva qu’on avoit fait boucaner les deux bœufs, quoiqu’ils ne fussent pas assez secs. Et comme les dits Liotot, Hiens, Duhaut, et les autres avoient mis les os à mouëlle, et autres à part, pour rôtir, et manger la viande qui y reste comme c’estoit la coutume, le Sieur Moranget le trouva mauvais; il se saisit en colère non seulement de toute la viande boucannée; mais encore de tous ces os, sans leur en rien donner; au contraire en les menaçant qu’ils ne mangeroient pas tant comme ils pensoient, et qu’il pretendoit bien ménager autrement cette viande.’ p. 196. Such an affront could only be revenged by the death both of Moranget and La Salle. Liotot and his others watched their opportunity; dispatched the former with a hatchet; shot the latter through the heart, and stript and insulted his body. ‘Liotot luy dit bien souvent par dérison, *Te voilà grand Bacha, te voilà.*’ pp. 197. 203.

\*JOY. p. 213. In one place the ceremony was still more ludicrous. ‘Les officiers (de le chef,) estoient au nombre de sept ou huit, toujours autour de luy, tout nuds, et barbouillez, les uns d’une façon, et les autres de l’autre; chacun d’eux avoit trois ou quatre callebasses ou gourdes attachées à une ceinture de cuir autour d’eux, dans lesquelles il y avoit

At the time of De Soto's expedition the kings of Pacaha and Casqui were at war; and, it ought to be mentioned for the singularity of the example, that the governor restored their friendship, and invited them to his table. 'They fell at variance,' however, 'about the seates, which of them should sit on his right hand;' and he was obliged to renew his negotiation to keep them quiet. They diverted him with stories of gold and copper mines in a northern province; and, having tarried forty days, to refresh his troops, he again set off in pursuit of the darling object. On the 5th of August, he arrived at Quigaute, the largest town in Florida. He now began to be told, that he should go south, if he wanted to find wealthy countries; but, as he had heard of Coligoa, a mountainous kingdom to the north, he supposed himself in the right track for mineral regions; and, travelling forty leagues, through thickets and morasses, he came, at length, in sight of the golden hills. Coligoa was very fruitful; and the inhabitants had laid up such stores of maize, 'that they cast out the old to bring in the new.' All this, however, was not gold. To the south, the king assured the governor, there was a rich province called Cayas: to the south, therefore,

de petits cailloux, et sur le derriere pendoit aussi une queue de cheval, en sorte que quand ils couroient, les gourdes faisoient un cliquetis, et la queue portée au gré du vent avoit toute son étendue, &c. p. 312.



he now bent his course; and, in five days, arrived at Palisema. The king vacated his own house for his reception; and the floor was found covered, 'in manner of carpets,' with deer skins painted in various colours and devices. He stopped at another town, named Tatalicoya; and, in four days, reached Tanico, in Cayas.

Here he remained a month. 'Vntill that time,' says our author, 'the Christians wanted salt; and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange for skinnes and mantles. They make it along the riuer, which, where it ebbeth, leaveth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certain baskets, which they have for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottom, and set it in the aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, set a small vessel under it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boile vpon the fire, when the sodden away, the salt remaineth in the bottome of the pan.' In other places the Indians manufactured great stores of salt by evaporating the 'brackish water,' which sprang from fountains; and, as it was exchanged for skins and mantles, the tribes, for a great extent of territory, must have been in the habit of using it. Our present

Indians know nothing of salt, except what they have learned from the whites; and, indeed, savage nations have ever been known to loathe the taste of saline substances.

The king of Tanico shunned the embraces of Governor De Soto; and, after waiting three days, the latter was obliged to ferret him out of the woods. Learning, that a southern province, called Tulla was rich and populous, he first sent a party of fifty men to examine it for themselves; and, when they returned, sore with wounds from the inhabitants, he marched thither at the head of all his force. The natives, at first, kept out of his way; but, in a few days, they began to come in, laden with dressed buffalo skins, and dropping tears and heaving sobs for their delinquency. A journey of eleven days brought the governor to Autiamque; where he designed to spend the winter, and ordered his men to construct a wooden enclosure for their encampment.

During the course of the winter, he was often visited by the prince of Tietiquaquo, who had a defective leg; and we omitted to mention, that, at Casqui, he had been impetrated, as the child of the sun, to heal two blind people. In Carter's second voyage, we find a still more curious account of halt and blind Indians. King Agouhanna's limbs were shrunk together by the palsy; and, being brought forth by nine or ten of

his men, he desired the captain to touch him. A compliance with this request confirmed him in the opinion, that Carter had come down from heaven; and the natives soon ‘brought before him diuers diseased men, some blinde, some creple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the haire of their eyelids came downe and couered their cheeks.’\* Nothing of this kind is found among the present Indians. They have no lame or blind people; and, though some suppose, that the simplicity of their habits prevents any imperfection in their issue, the common opinion is, that they make away with all their deformed children. Nothing is more certain than, that they take every pains to secure them from any serious corporeal injury. The infant is lashed upon a board, to make it straight; and, during all the period of childhood, the parents are so fearful of deformity from the hand or the rod, that their only chastisement consists in plunging or throwing the delinquent into water. Society has become considerably improved, when the domination of the body, yields to that of the mind: we have already seen, that a ‘maim upon the face’ was fatal to the Welsh succession in the twelfth century;

\* HACK. Voy. vol. iii. p. 221. Carter did not hesitate to gratify his patients. ‘Seeing their misery and devotion,’ says the account, ‘he recited the gospel of Saint John, that is to say, “In the beginning was the word;” touching every one that was diseased,’ &c.

and, among mere savages, perhaps such a thing as a lame sovereign was never known.

De Soto seems to have become weary of his golden dreams; and he now longed to see Cuba and Isabella. On the 6th of March, 1542, he began to descend the Great River; and, after most difficult marches with rain and snow, overhead, and swamps and freshes, underfoot, arrived at Nilco, on the 29th, of the same month, and at Guachoya, on the 17th of April. Nearly half of his men had been already lost: the remainder were reduced to extreme weakness; and, from mortification and fatigue, he was thrown into a fever. To depress him still more, when he had sent to inform the king of a rich province called Quigalta, that he was the child of the sun, and, being in want of maize, would be glad to see him, the heathen answered, ‘That whereas he said he was the childe of the sunne, if he would drie vp the riuer he would belieue him: and touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; bvt rather that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, serued, obeyed, and paid him tributes willingly or perforce: therefore, if he desired to see him, it were best he should come thither: that, if he came in peace, he would receiue him with speciall good will; and, if in war, in like manner he would attend him in the towne where he was, and that from him or any other he would not



shrink one foote backe.' The other Indians, also, began to grow insolent; and, to renovate their dread of his power, the governor sent a detachment to lay waste Nilco, which contained about six thousand souls. The horsemen made no distinction between sexes or ages; but rushed upon the defenceless multitude; killed some, wounded others, and trod the rest under foot.

This was a virtue in those days; and, accordingly, the death of De Soto is thus announced, in the next page but one: 'On the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life, the valourous, virtuous, and valiant capitaine, Don Ferdinando De Soto, gouvernour of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida.' He had previously assembled his officers; and, after some consultation, made them swear to obey Lewis De Moscoso. The new governor, we are told, was 'giuen to his ease;' and had 'desired long to see himself in a place where he might sleepe his full sleepe, than to conquer and gouern a covntrie, where so many trovbles presented themselves.'

A council of officers resolved to go westward, in the hope of finding New Spain. They started on the 5th of June; arrived at Chaguati, on the 20th; at Aguacay, on the 4th of July; on the 20th, at Amaye; and, in the beginning of August, at Naguatax. The governor trusted to Indian guides; who frequently led him astray, on purpose; and, whether it

were through malice or ignorance, they were generally hung upon the first tree, if found in the wrong. Like the other kings, Naguatax was, at first, somewhat coy; but, after the governor had killed a few scores of his subjects, he came, with tears in his eyes, and implored forgiveness.\* A month or two more were spent in these delightful conquests; but no intelligence could be obtained of New Spain; and it was thought best to return, and follow the Rio Grande. They had burned the towns and devastated the country, in their progress; and, when they came to retrace their steps, hunger often convinced them, that inhumanity is not always wisdom.

They found their way to Nilco; but it was destitute of food; and, in the beginning of December, they started for Minoya. A most wearisome journey was recompensed by six thousand bushels of maize: the soldiers were once more in comfortable lodgings; and it was now resolved to build seven brigantines, and sail down the river. The chains, in which the Indians had been led, were forged into spikes and nails. There were left, in the company, a sawyer, a ship builder, two caulkers, and a cooper. The mantles, procured from the natives, were unravelled for oakum, and bent for

\* The earthen vessels, dug up in the Western country, have been supposed to indicate the former existence of a civilized people. At Naguatax, our historian informs us, there were 'vessels made of clay, which differ very little from those of Estremoz, or Montimor.'

sails. Anchors were made of bits of iron; and cables, of cords\* obtained from the natives, or manufactured from bark, by the Spaniards. And, as if heaven had conspired to rid the country of their presence, 'it pleased God,' says their historian, 'that the flood (of the Mississippi, in March and April) came up to the towne to seeke the brigantines.'

On the 2d of July, 1543, they departed from Minoya. After sailing five or six days, they were met by the king of Quigalta; who had a 'fleete of one hundred faire and great canoes, furnished with tilts and ensignes,' and carrying each from sixty to seventy men. When within a crossbow-shot, he sent three Indians, 'in a small canoe,' to make his compliments to the governor; who, in return, detached a captain, with fifteen men, in canoes, to break the line of the fleet, and compel the Indians to retire. They opened their array as he approached; closed it upon him, when he had advanced far enough; boarded some of the canoes; over-set others; and, if a Spaniard did not sink with the weight of his armour, they knocked him on the head. The brigantines were next assailed: the arrows soon came so thick as to drive the men below deck; and the Indians, availing themselves of the pro-

\* A botanist not long since obtained a patent for making ropes of the American nettle. They are stronger, and more durable, than those of the common hemp.

jectile principle, shot into the air. As soon as night fell, the Spaniards supposed they might escape; but the Indians ‘followed vs,’ says the gentleman of Elvas, ‘all that night, and the next day till noone; by which time we were come into the countrie of others, whom they desired to vse vs after the same manner; and so they did.’ Our argonauts were obliged to row night and day; and, when, at last, they approached the sea, and expected to enjoy some rest, they had no sooner dropped anchor, than another swarm of Indians set upon them, with lances made of wood and fish bone.

They now proceeded to the mouth of the river; and, on the 18th of July, set sail for New Spain. They continued their course two days; and were still in fresh water. On the fourth day the wind drove the brigantines on shore. The fifth was more calm; but, on the sixth, they were obliged to take shelter in a creek; where they remained four days. No sooner had they put to sea, again, than a violent tempest arose; and, that nothing might be wanting to make the voyage a fit subject for poetry, they were, in the midst of their troubles, saluted by a race of harpies. ‘While they were in this tempest in great feare of being cast away in that place, (says our author, who, like Thucydides, in his account of the plague, was enabled to describe with fidelity, because he had been one of the sufferers,) from midnight forward they endured an in-



tolerable torment of an infinite swarme of musketoes, which fell vpon them, which, as soone as they had stung the flesh, it so infected it, as though they had beene venomous. In the morning the sea was asswaged, and the wind slaked, but not the musketoes: for the sailes, which were white, seemed black with them in the morning. Those which rowed, vnlesse others kept them away, were not able to row. Having passed the feare and danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gave themselves to drive them away, one of them laughed at another.'

It has been considered as the particular curse of America, that its low grounds are infested with this formidable insect: but, if it should be determined, that our Indians emigrated from Northern Asia, we shall contend, that the mosquito came along with them; and, though, as philosophers have said, the dog so degenerates in our climate as to become incapable of barking, we think, they will, at least, allow, that the mosquito is not so much affected as to be unable to bite. The Tungusians of Asia, we are told, 'both men and women, carry a pot on their left arms, continually furnished with old smoking wood; which preserves them from the biting of the mosquitos or gnats, with which the country along the river Tungusky and the woods are so abundantly pestered, that not only the

face, but the hands and legs are uncovered, their biting becomes insupportable.\* We are inclined to believe, that mosquitos, as well as wolves, may be found in all wild countries; and, however the English of the present day may congratulate themselves upon their exemption from such a torment, we suspect, that some of the best stanzas of one of their greatest poets, had no other inspiration than the bite of this insect.†

\* HARRIS' Voy. vol. ii. p. 929.

† SPENCER'S pecuniary embarrassments obliged him to retire, for some time, to the north of England; and we have little doubt, that the 'cumbrous gnats' in the following lines, are the same with those mentioned by Harris:—

A gentle shepherd, in sweete eventide,  
When ruddy Phæbus gins to welk in west,  
High on a hill, his flock to vewen wide,  
Marks which doe byte the hasty supper best;  
A cloude of cumbrous gnats doe him molest,  
All striving to infixe their feeble stings,  
That from their noyance he no where can rest;  
But with his clownish hands their tender wings,  
He brusheth oft, and oft doth mar their murmurings.

*Fairy Queen.*

Another swarm:—

As when a swarm of gnats at eventide  
Out of the fennes of Allan do arise,  
Their murmuring small trompetts sounden wide,  
Whiles in the air their clustering armie flies,  
That as a cloude doth seeme to dim the skies;  
No man nor beast may rest or take repast,  
For their sharp wounds and noyous injuries,  
Till the fierce northern wind, with blustering blast,  
Doth blow them quite away, and in the ocean cast.

*Ibid.*

Two days more, the Spaniards were obliged to endure the storm and the mosquitos. The lee of a small island, in an arm of the gulf, furnished them shelter for fourteen days; when 'it pleased God to send them faire weather;' and 'with great deuotion, they appointed a procession, and went along the strand, beseeching God to bring them to land, where they might serve him in better sort.' On the 10th of September, 1543, they reached the mouth of Panuco River. The town of the same name consisted of seventy Spanish families; and both here, and at Mexico, the inhabitants vied with each other, in caressing and entertaining their countrymen. 'God reward them all,' says the historian; and it is instructive to read the final expressions of a man, who, like the rest, had started with such bright prospects of splendid fortune: 'God grant, that those which it pleased him to deliuer out of Florida, and to bring againe into Christendome, may serue him: and vnto those that died in that country, and vnto all that believe in him and confesse his faith, God, for his mercie sake, grant the kingdome of Heauen. Amen.'\*

From the foregoing detail, it will appear, that, at the time of De Soto's expedition, this country was

\* We have taken some pains to ascertain the courses and distances of this expedition. Neither these, nor dates, are much attended to in the narrative; and, even when set down, are often loose and contra-

occupied by extensive communities of people; separated from each other by belts of hunting forests; living in comparative peace; and given chiefly to agricultural pursuits. They planted extensive fields of corn; and cultivated such other vegetables as were necessary to their subsistence, or conducive to their gratification. The bow and the trap, easily supplied them with the requisite animal food; and, in the midst of peace and abundance, they found both the disposition and the time to improve the circumstances of their domestic economy. They erected walls about their towns; made their houses more commodious, and of better materials; became more refined in their ideas of government, law, and morality; more luxurious in

dictory. The place, where the soldiers landed, was called Spirito Santo. They travelled,

W. and N. W. 100 leagues, to Apalache:

N. E. 400 leagues, to Cutifachequi:

N. 250 leagues, to Xualla:

W. 190 leagues, to Coça:

S. 60 leagues, to Tascaluca:

W. 300 leagues, to Rio Grande and Aquixo:

N. 150 leagues, (on the west side of Rio Grande,) to Coligoa:

S. S. E. 250 leagues, to Autiamqui:

With the exception of one considerable episode, they afterwards followed the course of Rio Grande. These statements of our author are all conjectural; and perhaps it can never be precisely ascertained how far the governor advanced to the north. We are told, in one place, that the climate was excessively cold; and the mention of *Saquechuma*, (p. 82.) may warrant us in supposing, that they were then in the neighbourhood of *Susquehanna*.



their dress and equipage; more tasteful in their ornaments; more cleanly in their persons, and more dignified in their manners. But, with the tastes and notions of the savage, they lost his strength and ferocity; and, though still formidable by their numbers and discipline, would, without much difficulty, fall a prey to a more hardy and warlike race.

That such a race existed, in the north, there can be little doubt. Verazan remarks a total contrast between the natives of the south, and those, whom he saw, after passing the forty-fourth parallel. ‘*Looke,*’ says he, ‘how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle; so much were these full of rudeness and ill manners, and so barbarous, that by no signs that euer we could make, we could have any kind of traffike with them. They cloth themselves with beares skinnnes, and luzernes, and seales, and other beasts skinnnes. Their food, as far as we could perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certaine fruits, which the earth yieldeth of her own accord. They haue no graine, neither saw we any kind or signe of tillage, neither is the land, for the barrennesse thereof, apt to beare fruit or seed. If at any time we desired by exchange to haue any of their commodities, they vsed to come to the sea shore vpon certaine craggy rocks, and we standing in our boats, they let downe with a

rope what it pleased them to giue vs, crying continually that we should not approach the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but kniues, fish hookes, and tooles to cut withall, neither did they make any account of our courtesie. And when he had nothing, when we departed from them, the people shewed all signes of discourtesie and disdaine, as were possible for any creature to invent.\*

Verazan could only see such tribes as were along the coast; but we may safely presume, that this description would equally apply to those in the interior. The soil and climate of high latitudes forbid the cultivation of grains; and, unless the inhabitants be supplied, by a commerce with more southern nations, they must depend, for subsistence, upon beasts, birds, and fish. The perpetual war of the chase, would, of itself, make a people robust and ferocious: but the pursuit of game must often lead one tribe to encroach upon the grounds of another: a new kind of war is provoked; and, between the two, a nation falls into a state of savageism little above that of the beasts, whom they hunt. Strength becomes their only virtue; and dexterity their highest wisdom.

Such a people, if once acquainted with the ease, quiet, and imbecility of their neighbours, would want no other motive to oust them of their possessions, and

take away their lives. It would not be necessary for different tribes to combine in a simultaneous irruption. The southern communities themselves were not in alliance with each other: one of them might have been first exterminated, by a single tribe, from the north; and the rest of the tribes, in the same quarter, observing its success, would follow the example. It was in no other manner, that Europe became the property of the barbarians: some Indians, in Ohio, have a tradition, that their ancestors extirpated a people, who first occupied their territory; and it is not many years since, that the Potawatamies, giving notice to the Miamies, that ‘they were tired of fish, and wanted meat,’ descended upon their country, without waiting for an answer,—and established, upon the Wabash, the two villages of Chippoy and Tippecanoe.\*

\* These observations were written before the appearance of Mr. HECKEWELDER’s History of the Indians. See Trans. of the Hist. and Lit. Commit. of the Amer. Philos. Soc. Vol. i. Phila. 1819. This volume is wholly occupied with papers concerning the Indians: the committee have still a number of works, in manuscript, upon the same subject; and perhaps there is no branch of American history, which so much demands their care, or upon which their care can be more laudably bestowed. We must not flatter ourselves, that the true history of the Indians has yet been developed. Each tribe relates a different story; and it is only by making collections of their various accounts,—selecting the facts, upon which they agree, and adjusting the probabilities of contradictory statements, that we shall be enabled to ascertain the truth. There is no time to be lost; and, while we applaud our Historical Societies for the collections, which they have already made, we would urge the necessity of immediate efforts to make more.

So much may be said in favour of the supposition, that the United States have been inhabited by two

The accounts, hitherto published, are, for the most, those of transient visitors ; who, having little acquaintance with Indian languages, or with Indian manners, were not likely to obtain correct or extensive information. An Indian always suspects some evil motive in an interrogatory ; and, if he makes any answer at all, it is only to amuse the enquirer with a fictitious tale. Mr. Heckewelder resided with them, as a friend, for a great number of years ; and he has collected his knowledge,—not by rousing their suspicion with questions,—but by listening to their speeches and conversations. His book, which is here translated from the German, by Mr. DUPONCEAU, corresponding secretary to the committee, embraces a variety of curious matter ; and will enable us to add some new facts, to the meagre accounts of the aborigines, which we had drawn from other sources.

Our reason for noticing it, in this place, is, that it may be supposed to corroborate the hypotheses of two distinct races. The Delawares have a tradition, that they and the Five Nations emigrated from a country far to the west ; that they extirpated a people, who ‘ had many large towns on the great rivers,’ with ‘ regular fortifications and entrenchments ;’ and that their nation, in particular, at last, extended its branches north beyond New England, and south to the Potomack. But this account is intermixed with fables of giants ; and the Five Nations have so many statements directly in contradiction to those of the Delawares, that implicit reliance is not to be placed upon either. The former, for instance, call themselves Ongwehonwe, ‘ men surpassing all others ;’ and bestow upon the latter the epithet of ‘ women.’ The name of the Delawares, on the other hand, is Lenni Lenape, ‘ the original people.’ They formerly compared themselves to the grasshoppers, which devastate the country ; and asserted, that the Five Nations were a tribe of croaking frogs, which make a great noise, when all is quiet ; but leap into the water, and are silent, at the approach of danger,—even at the rustling of a leaf. The Five Nations pretend to have subdued the Delawares in battle ; but this the latter ‘ strongly and pointedly deny ;’ and, though our author seems inclined to think them in the right, it is not easy to find a reason for believing the one any more



distinct races of Indians. On the other hand, the examples of history, the nature of our species, and the connection between the colonists and the aborigines, may, perhaps, be sufficient to account for all the degeneracy, which the latter have undergone. The institutions of Sparta almost demonstrated the equality of the sexes, in corporeal, as well as mental, strength. War made the Romans so hardy, that they could endure the greatest fatigue, or sustain the most ponderous armour. Peace rendered them so effeminate, that, according to Juvenal's satire, one of them sweat under the pressure of a finger-ring. There is no immortal principle in civilization. The same facility of nature, which enables us to improve, will permit us to degenerate; and the Greeks, who seem to have been destined to furnish mankind with examples, have passed through all the stages of political existence, from barbarism to refinement, and from refinement to barbarism.

We are willing to suppose, that the European colonists found the aboriginal tribes as they are de-

than the other. Future research may determine these controversies; but we are not prepared to make up our minds, until we have, from the Five Nations, such an account of themselves as Mr. Heckewelder has given us of their enemies. Every tribe of red men, like every nation of whites, exalts its own importance above that of all others; and, while we now learn, that the Indians north of the Potomack were colonies of the Lenape, the historians of New England have told us, that the tribes, in that quarter, were the parents, and those at the south, their children.

scribed in the course of this section;—not, indeed, upon terms of the most perfect friendship with each other; but seldom finding occasion for violent hostility;—living chiefly upon maize, beans, and other vegetables; and only resorting to the chaise to diversify their food, or to procure themselves apparel. Some of the early settlers came, in the first place, without adequate provision: some were so improvident as to exhaust their stores, without taking measures for new supplies; and others thought it unnecessary to plant and sow themselves, since force or negotiation might obtain the crops of the Indians. ‘Pious violence’ was the doctrine of the day; and, if the aborigines refused to part with their corn, in an amicable manner, the colonists devastated their fields, and despoiled their granaries. War was the consequence: the Indians would no longer plant fields, which they could scarcely expect to reap; and they were, therefore, driven to the necessity of looking, for future subsistence, to the rivers and the forests.

But the animals upon their own hunting grounds, would be insufficient to support so numerous a population, as had been created by almost inexhaustible stores of vegetable food. Hunger would induce them to encroach upon the grounds of their neighbours; another war ensues: insecurity compels the second tribe to neglect their agriculture: the process of en-

croachment is repeated; and thus, one string being snapped, the discord runs through the whole Indian commonwealth. The red men were, at the same time, plunged into hostilities with the whites, with their own brethren, and with the wild beasts. Their old habits would no longer suit their circumstances. Their houses must be mere temporary abodes; their government, submission to the strongest of the stronger sex; their apparel, such as they could rob from the beasts; their fetes, the dance of war; their ceremonies, the bloody ritual of the stake and the hatchet. How is a people to help becoming savage, when thus at war with the whole living creation?

## SECTION III.

More certain History.—Names, Numbers, and Situation of the Indians—Their Policy—Government—Religion—Manners and Customs—Languages—Causes of their Depopulation—Policy of the Federal Government towards them.

**WHATEVER** opinion may be formed, upon the origin or revolutions of the aborigines, it will be agreed by all, that their numbers were once incalculably greater than they are at present. It would be impossible to ascertain the precise amount; and even our approximations to the truth, must be vague and distant. The abundance of food in the United States, particularly, would, of course, create a numerous population; and De Soto's historian mentions one island in the Mississippi, which contained five thousand inhabitants, and one city, on its banks, which had six. The other towns were populous; but we have no definite account of their number, or of their distances from each other; and, when we mention 400,000 as the number of the early aborigines, on this side of the Mississippi, and 40,000,000 as that of the whole continent, we must be understood to deal more in conjecture than in calculation. In 1606, Virginia



contained one Indian to every square mile; and, if we adopt the same ratio for the other states, there must have been, at that time, about a million in all.\* The warriors are estimated at three in ten; and, accordingly, the whole number would be 300,000. This calculation may now seem extravagant; but, when the reader is told, that, in Connecticut, where an Indian has become a wonder, there were once from twenty to thirty thousand, he will probably think it short, rather than beyond, the truth.

We may divide the Indians of the United States, as the United States are themselves divided,—into

* District of Maine,	- - - - -	40,000
Vermont,	- - - - -	10,000
New Hampshire,	- - - - -	10,000
Massachusetts,	- - - - -	6,000
Rhode Island,	- - - - -	1,600
Connecticut,	- - - - -	4,700
New York,	- - - - -	45,000
New Jersey,	- - - - -	8,300
Delaware,	- - - - -	2,000
Pennsylvania,	- - - - -	47,000
Ohio,	- - - - -	40,000
Maryland,	- - - - -	14,000
Virginia,	- - - - -	70,000
Kentucky,	- - - - -	50,000
North Carolina,	- - - - -	48,000
Tennessee,	- - - - -	40,000
South Carolina,	- - - - -	24,000
Georgia,	- - - - -	62,000
Mississippi Territory,	- - - - -	9,000

northern, eastern, middle, and southern. The first are the Six Nations; the second and third, the Delawares; and the fourth, the various nations below the Potomack. The Delawares and Five Nations, if we may believe a tradition of the former, sprung from the same stock; started upon a crusade to the east, at nearly the same time; and, for a long period after their establishment in their new territories, were the only nations in the northern, eastern, and middle districts, who were permitted to light a council fire, or hold a general congress. The Delaware branch was twice subdivided. A part remained in their original country: a part halted on the way, this side of the Mississippi; and the rest, consisting of nearly half the parent nation, advanced by degrees, until they reached the river Delaware, or Lenapewihittuck. This division called itself Lenni Lenape, or ‘the first people;’ but, among the northern, western, and southern Indians, they were known by the name of the Wapanachki; which, according as it is written by different European authors, becomes Apenaki, Openagi, Abenakis, and Abenakis.\*

\* Mr. Heckewelder’s History contains many illustrations of our remarks upon the subject of etymology. The Delawares, for instance, do not pronounce *r*, *f*, or *v*; and, on the other hand, they have a species of consonant, which is uttered in a soft whistle, and can only be represented by *w* or *wh*. Pp. 27, 28. In relating their wrongs to the author, they said, that, ‘when the *Jengeese* arrived at *Machtischwanne*, they looked about,

The second subdivision was into the Unâmis, or Turtle; the Unalachtgo, or Turkey; and the Minsi, or Wolf. The two former occupied the grounds between the sea coast and mountains: the latter, whose name has been corrupted into Monseys, and whose symbol of nationality seems to have been rightly chosen, extended themselves from their council fire, at Minisink, to the Hudson, on the east; westward, beyond the Susquehannah; north, to the heads of that river and of the Delaware; south to the hills, known in New Jersey, by the name of Muskanecun, and in Pennsylvania, by those of Lehigh and Coghnewago. New branches sprung from these three divisions. Small settlements, with their chiefs, were scattered over the interior; and, while the Mohicans crossed the Mahicannituck, now Hudson River, and peopled the eastern states, the Nanticokes proceeded south, and fixed themselves in Delaware and Maryland. The nation typified themselves in their council house; which, they said, extended westward beyond the Mississippi, north to the head waters of the Hudson, and south to those of the Potomack. Nay, the claims of the Delawares do not end here. They tell us, in their metaphorical lan-

&c.' The first of these names is said to be an Indian corruption of *English*, and hence, we are told, may be derived the 'nickname *Fankees*.' Mach-tischwanne means 'a cluster of islands, with channels every way;' and 'the Indians think,' says our author, 'that the white people have corrupted the word into *Massachusetts*.' P. 60

guage, that they had but one house, one fire, and one canoe, with the Algonkins, Killistenos, and others, on the north side of the St. Lawrence; and that, in short, with the exception of the Five Nations, the whole of North America was inhabited by tribes belonging to the Lenape family.

In the meanwhile, the Maquas or Mangwes,—who are called Mingoes, by the English, and Iroquois, by the French,—having fought their way along the lakes, established themselves in the territory, of which they still occupy a part. The overgrown power of Lenape, at length, made them see the necessity of union; and, about the middle of the seventeenth century, they formed that compact, known by the name of the Five Nations, among their neighbours, and by that of the Aquanoshioni, among themselves. It consisted of the Mohawks, who were named Sankhícani, or Gun-Locks, because they first received fire-arms from the Europeans: the Oneidoes, or W'Tássone, the Stone-Pipe-Makers: the Onondagoes, or people, who live on the top of a hill: the Cayugas, or Queúgues, from a lake of that name: and the Senecas, or Mœchachtínni, the Mountaineers. Each of these nations was subdivided into three tribes,—the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf; and, in all their treaties with Europeans, the sachems affixed, for their respective signatures; a representation of one of these animals.



Of all the tribes in North America, the Aquanoshioni are said to be the greatest politicians. They spread their dominion, by arts and by arms, over a great part of the present United States; and the Delawares relate a long account of the intrigues, by which the 'croaking frogs' annihilated the 'grasshoppers.' It is said to be a maxim among the Indians, that opposite principles should never reside together; and, accordingly, when peace is restored between two tribes, the proposition never comes from the side of the warriors, who cannot hold the pipe in one hand, and the hatchet in the other,—but from that of the women, who, by their songs, lamentations, and lectures, easily persuade the parties to abandon a contest, of which they have become heartily tired. When the encroachment of the whites had broken up the Indian community, and involved the several tribes in wars with each other, it was thought necessary, that some one nation should become the *women* for the whole; and, as the Delawares occupied the most central position, the Aquanoshioni persuaded them to assume the office, or, as they expressed it, to put on the petticoat.

Our own notions or experience must not lead us to mistake this for a type of government. The Five Nations soon demonstrated, that they had only made women of the Delawares, in order to take advantage of their character, for the accomplishment of their

ruin. They would sell the Lenape grounds to the English; and, when the owners remonstrated against the usurpation, and threatened to take revenge, they were told, that women should never meddle with the affairs of men. At other times, an emissary was sent by the Five Nations to kill some member of a neighbouring tribe, and leave a Lenape war-club by his side; and, if the Delawares made preparations to meet the attack, which such an outrage necessarily occasioned, the politic confederacy would say to them, ‘Hold! you are women. It is not your business to carry on war; but to restore peace. Let *us* fight your battles. Repair to such a place, at such a time; and you shall be the spectators of the manner, in which we will handle your enemies.’ The Delawares were present, at the appointed hour and place; but, if they found any of the Five Nations, it was in the ranks of the foe; and they were only driven home, with great loss, to suffer the same abuses, and fall into the same traps.\*

Such is their own account. Like every fallen people, they would lay the blame of their declension upon any shoulders but their own; and seek a consolation for their present insignificance, by framing stories of their former greatness. In our only

\* BART. *New Views*, p. xxv. *et seq.*—HEGKEWELDER’S *Hist.* Introd. and chap. i, ii, iii, iv, v.

history of the Five Nations, we are not told, that they and the Delawares emigrated from the west; nor do we find the latter even mentioned, till about the middle of the eighteenth century. The former seem, indeed, to have come from the east, rather than the west. They were settled around the present site of Montreal, in 1603; and the lands, which they now occupy, then belonged to the Satanas, or Shaouonons. They were, at first, chiefly an agricultural people; and procured their supplies of meat from the Adirondacks, a nation of hunters, who lived three hundred miles above Trois Rivières. One season, the game fell short; and the Five Nations, having sent some of their young men to assist the Adirondacks, they soon became so expert in hunting, that the latter grew envious, and murdered them. Hostilities were the consequence; but the Five Nations knew little of war; and, before they would adventure to attack the Adirondacks, they tried their skill and courage upon the Satanas. Having subdued these, they fell upon the former; and, after a little practice, grew strong and skilful enough to drive their enemy, and carry the war into his own territories. Champlain, the first French governor, took part with the Adirondacks; and, in a battle, on the shores of the lake, which has since borne his name, the novelty of his weapons soon put the Five Nations to flight. But

the Adirondacks relied too much upon the efficacy of fire arms: they forsook their usual modes of warfare, and rushed, without order, upon their enemies; who contented themselves with acting upon the defensive: and, by cunning and well timed stratagems, made the very power of their assailants a means of their final defeat. When the French first landed in Canada, there were fifteen hundred fighting men of the Adirondacks, about Quebec. Probably there is not, at this day, a single individual to be found.\*

Such, according to their own account, is the early history of the Five Nations. Like the Delawares, they once thought themselves the greatest nation under heaven; and, when some of the Adirondacks, a long time after their overthrow, succeeded in killing a chief of their old enemies, he exclaimed with his last breath, ‘Must I, who have made the whole earth tremble before me, now die by the hands of children!’† The extravagant stories of the Lenape family may be easily explained. Many of the northern, western, and southern tribes, called themselves, ‘children’ or ‘grand children’ of the Delawares; and these names, which only bespeak a political connection, have been mistaken for the evidence of a relationship by blood. The first notions of government are taken from the authority of a father, in his own household:

\* GOLDEN’S Hist. Five Nat. part i. chap. i.      † Ibid. p. 196



and, whenever the Indians form a confederacy, they appoint one tribe to be the 'father,' or 'eldest brother,' while the others take the name of 'sons.'\* The idea is sometimes carried still farther. A boy, taken in war, is sometimes made to supply the place of a husband, who has been killed; and, in such a case, all the children of the deceased, though they be twice as old as their adopted head, are careful to give him the name of a father, and to pay him the deference of sons.† The Five Nations themselves styled the Delawares their cousins;‡ and, if the latter were called 'grandfather', or 'father', by any other nations, it can only prove that some confederacy was formed, of which, being the central party, they became the head.

Indeed, we think it a preposterous conceit, that the greater part of our North American tribes, were descended from the Lenape family. The same nation will always speak the same language: no period or distance of separation can entirely obliterate its identity; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the tongues of the various tribes, within our own boundaries, are radically different from each other. The account itself, of the mode, in which the Lenape spread its branches over the continent, has an air of obscurity, which only belongs to romance. 'The

\* HECKEW. p. 80.

† COLD. p. 9.

‡ Ibid. App. p. 64.

Mohicans, in the east,' say they, 'had, by intermarriages, become a detached body, mixing two languages together, and forming out of the two a dialect of their own.' 'New tribes again sprung from them, who assumed distinct names: still however not breaking off from the parent stock, but acknowledging the Lenni Lenape to be their grandfather.'\* Intermarrying, and mixing languages, suppose the previous existence of a different people; and, if we are to believe this account, the Delawares were so prolific a race, that, with the same means of subsistence, the superiority of their natural increase enabled them to spread over the country, and root out the ancient inhabitants.

The account, which the Lenape give us, of their decline, seems to be equally fabulous with that of their rise. It proves themselves more simple, than we are willing to believe they were; and their enemies, more perfidious, than has been commonly supposed. The Five Nations love a stratagem, in war; and will even prefer a trick, where plain dealing would do better. But they have certain notions of right and justice, which nothing can force them to violate; and we are not yet prepared to admit, that they would undertake to sell lands, to which they had no sort of title; or plunge a neighbour in war, by a piece of the

\* HECKREW. p. 35.

basest cunning, and betray the cause, which they had promised to support.

It would appear, that Penn bought the territory of the Delawares, from the Delawares themselves; and that, though the sale was witnessed by a regular deed, with the signatures of their chiefs, some of the tribe continued to reside upon the land so long after, as to make them think, that they were still the proprietors. But the first purchase included only a small part of their territory. In 1736, the government made a bargain for nearly the whole: one moiety was then conveyed; and, in 1742, the Six Nations and Delawares met at Philadelphia, for the sale of the other.\* The Delawares were then become the abject

\* *COLD. App. p. 47.* This half extended from the southern boundary of Pennsylvania to the Endless Mountains; and from the western boundary to the Susquehanna. The price consisted of the following items:—

500 pounds of powder,	60 kettles,
600 pounds of lead,	100 tobacco-tongs,
45 guns,	100 scissors,
60 strowd matchcoats,	500 awl-blades,
100 blankets,	120 combs,
100 duffil matchcoats,	2000 needles,
200 yards half-thick,	1000 flints,
100 shirts,	24 looking-glasses,
40 hats,	2 pounds of vermilion,
40 pairs of shoes and buckles,	100 tin pots,
40 pairs of stockings,	1000 tobacco-pipes,
100 hatchets,	200 pounds of tobacco,
500 knives,	24 dozen of gartering, and
100 hoes,	25 gallons of rum.

dependants of the Five Nations; but, whether they had fallen by intrigue, or by war, is a question, upon which they totally differ. It was at this council, that the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania complained of the Delawares, for still holding possession of their lands; and the speech of an Onandaga chief to that tribe, contains the only glimpses, from the Five Nations themselves, of the former relations between the two confederacies.\*

The Indians said, that this was hardly enough; and the lieutenant-governor afterwards made an addition of about half the amount.

\* *COLD. App. 78.* The specimens of Indian eloquence, hitherto adduced, have generally related to some mournful event; and are more distinguished for beauty of metaphor than vigour of thought. The one, which we are about to copy, was delivered upon an occasion of business: it has a strength and boldness, which we shall seldom find equalled; and compresses so much matter into a few sentences, that, perhaps, it can hardly be entitled to the name of a *speech*. After promising the lieutenant-governor, that his wishes should be gratified, the speaker turned to the Delawares:—

‘*COUSINS,*

‘Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely, till you recover your senses and become sober. You don’t know what ground you stand on, nor what you are doing. Our brother *Onas*’ cause is very just and plain, and his intentions are to preserve friendship. On the other hand, your cause is bad; your heart far from being upright; and you are maliciously bent to break the chain of friendship with our brother *Onas*, and his people. We have seen with our eyes a deed sign’d by nine of your ancestors above *fifty* years ago, for this very land, and a release sign’d, not many years since, by some of yourselves and chiefs now living, to the number of fifteen or upwards.—But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We



There is, undoubtedly, some truth in the accounts, which we have now been examining; but, with our present lights, it is impossible to distinguish, what is fact, from what is fiction; and, in the little, which we have to add, upon the subject, it will be the safest to give such brief statements of the numbers and situa-

conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women; and can no more sell land than women: nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim has gone thro' your guts; you have been furnished with cloths, meat, and drink, by the goods paid you for it; and now you want it again, like children as you are.—But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us, that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe-shank, from you for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale; but he never came amongst us; nor we never heard any thing about it. This is acting in the dark; and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in the sale of land. On such occasions, they give public notice, and invite all the Indians of their united nations; and give them all a share of the present they received for their lands. This is the behaviour of the wise united nations.—But we find that you are none of our blood: You act a dishonest part: Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our brethren: You receive them with as much greediness as lewd women receive the embraces of bad men. And for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You are women. Take the advice of a wise man, and remove instantly. You may return to the other side of the Delaware, where you came from: But we don't know, whether, considering how you have demean'd yourselves, you will be permitted to live there; or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats, as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you two places to go, either to Wyomen or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places; and then we shall have you more under our eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate; but remove away, and take this belt of wampum.

tion of the Indians, as may be derived from strangers, rather than themselves. It must not be supposed, however, that the accounts of strangers are perfectly free from obscurity and contradiction. We have never had the misfortune to investigate any subject, upon which the testimonies are so doubtful in themselves, and so irreconcilable with each other. The same tribe goes by many different names; and each author has his peculiar orthography. The Indians have often shifted their places of abode, since the Europeans began their settlements: some nations have traversed the whole extent of the United States; and the intermixtures, occasioned by these removals, have made it almost impracticable to keep sight of any particular tribe.

The District of Maine was occupied by the Tarateens; who appear to have been divided into two confederacies,—the Norridgewocs, upon the upper part of the Kennebec; and the Penobscots, upon the river, which bears their name. The greater part of the former emigrated to Canada, before its reduction; but the latter accepted the promise of protection from the English. What were the original numbers of either tribe, we know not. In 1795, there were left, in the District, only seven Norridgewocs, and about three hundred Penobscots. They express much anxiety, at the prospect of extinction; and the Romish

priests have taught them to marry young, and wean their infants early.\*

When New Hampshire was first settled, the remains of two nations were found upon the Piscataqua and its branches. According to their own account, they had formerly been the tributaries of the great Bashaba, at Penobscot; but an inroad of his people induced them to cast off their allegiance; and they were now ruled by Passaconaway, the Sagamore of Penacook; whose title to empire was founded upon his supposed ability to set water on fire, cause trees to dance, make a dry leaf green, and create a living serpent from the skin of a dead one. A pestilence nearly annihilated this tribe, a short time before they were found by the English:† the few, that survived,

\* SULLIVAN'S Hist. Dist. Maine. Bost. 1795.

† This disease occasionally prevailed in all parts of the continent. 'Within a league and a half,' of Cutifachiqui, says De Soto's historian, 'were great towns dispeopled, and overgrown with grass; which showed that they had been long without inhabitants. The Indians said, that, two years before, there was a plague in that country, and that they removed to other towns?' p. 53. Carter found it, in 1535, among the northern tribes; and he has given a description of its symptoms, which, for disgusting fidelity, is only equalled by Thucydides' account of the plague. He says, 'it began to spread amongst us after the strangest sort, that ever was either heard or seen, inasmuch as some did lose all their strength, and could not stand on their feet, and did their legs swell, their sinews shrink as black as any coal. Others also had their skins spotted with spots of blood and purple colour: then did it ascend up to their ankles, knees, thighs, shoulders, arms, and neck,' &c. HACK. Voy. vol. iii. p. 226. It is

soon disappeared; and we have not been able to ascertain their numbers at any particular period.\*

Vermont, or, at least, a part of it, seems to have been once the property of the Five Nations. Such of this people as were converted into what were called **Praying Indians**, by the Jesuit Missionaries, formed the village of **Caughnewagah**, at the falls of **St. Louis**, near **Montreal**†; and, in 1798, they sent a deputation, to claim the territory bounded on the west, by **Lake Champlain**; north, by the **Missisque**; east, by the highlands, which divide the tributaries of the **Connecticut** from those of **Champlain**; and south, by a line drawn from those highlands to **Ticonderoga**. A committee reported, that the Indians had a title, in former times; and the governor was requested to inform them, that, ‘when they shall exhibit clear and circumstantial proofs, that the claim they now make is founded on the unerring and unalterable rules of justice, and shall produce therewith the necessary documents, authorising this state to treat with them, they will find their brethren of Vermont ready and willing to maintain

a curious fact, that, though many of Carter’s men fell victims to this disease, the agents of **Fernando Gorges** lived among the infected Indians of **New Hampshire**, ‘without so much as feeling their heads to ache the whole time.’ **BELKNAP**’s Hist. N. H. vol. i. p. 121. This disease alone is said to have reduced the **Plymouth Indians** from three thousand to three hundred. **TRUMBULL**’s Indian Wars.

\* **BELKNAP**’s Hist. N. Hamp. vol. i. ch. v.

† **SMITH**’s Hist. N. Y. p. 15. They were joined by a body of **Mohicans**.



inviolable the most friendly intercourse with the Indians of the Five Nations, and to do and perform all those acts of kindness and generosity, which their strong principles of justice cannot fail to inspire.' His excellency was also requested to investigate their claim; and, at the next session of the legislature, he communicated the result of his inquiries. 'It is believed,' he said, that the Cognahwagahs formerly joined the French; and, as the French were subdued by the English, the claim of the Five Nations was extinguished by the right of conquest. Again, 'these Indians' were the allies of the English, during the American war; and they accordingly lost their land, by the treaty of 1783. The legislature, therefore, resolved to notify the Indians, that, after 'taking all possible care' in examining the subject, they were 'fully of opinion,' that, though the claim once existed, it had been 'long since done away.'<sup>\*</sup>

In Massachusetts, there were several distinct nations of Indians:—The Pawkunnawkutts, or Pockanockets, in Old Plymouth; the Massachussetts, or Abergineans, in Suffolk, Norfolk, and the southern parts of Middlesex; the Pacotucketts, and their dependencies, in Essex and the northern parts of Middlesex; the Nashaways in the northern, and the Nipmucks, or Nipents, in the southern, parts of Worces-

\* WILLIAMS' Hist. Vermont. vol. ii. pp. 283-4, 290-1.

ter. There were many tribes scattered along the Connecticut; and the western portion of the state was occupied by branches of Mohicans. The pestilence destroyed great numbers of the Indians in Massachusetts, between the years 1612-13; and no enumeration was made of any of the tribes, until 1685; when it was ascertained, that the Pockanockets, exclusive of children, amounted to 1439.\*

Rhode Island was inhabited by the Narragansetts; who seem to have been chiefly a commercial people. They exceeded all their neighbours in the manufacture of wampompeag, pendants, bracelets, stone tobacco pipes, and earthen vessels; and, procuring furs from distant nations, in exchange, they sold them to the English, at an advanced price. Some of their own nation asserted, that they could once number five thousand warriors. In 1620, they were estimated at three thousand five hundred; but they had dwindled to two thousand, in 1670; and, five years after-

\* HUTCHINSON'S Hist. Mass. vol. i. pp. 349-456. The Plymouth Indians may serve as an example of the whole :—

TRIBES.	NUMBERS.	TRIBES.	NUMBERS.
Pawnuts,	264	Manimats,	110
Manamayets,	115	At Saltwater Pond,	90
Sackatucketts,	121	Titicuts,	70
Matakusus,	70	Namatakusets,	40
Scantons,	51	Moxisset,	85
Mashpus,	141	Cooxit,	120
Suckanessits,	72	Scemits,	90

wards, the destruction provoked by Philip's war, reduced their whole number of souls to less than one thousand.\*

Next to the Narragansetts, in Connecticut,† were the Piquods; who formed twenty-six principalities; and occupied the counties of Waterford, New London, Groton, and Stonington. They were inferior to the Narragansetts, in number; but much their superiors in strength and bravery; and they used to laugh at their neighbours, for degrading themselves to the contemptible business of making pots and tobacco pipes. Probably the fighting men of the Piquods never exceeded a thousand; yet their warlike character gave them a predominance over the others; and Philip, their king, was at the head of the confederacy, in 1670, which involved all his neighbours in destruction.

The territory between the Hudson and Connecticut rivers, as far north as the foot of Lake Champlain, appears to have been possessed by the Mohicans; who were called Moheganders, or Mahikanders, by the Dutch; Mourigans and Mahingans, by the French; and Mohiccons, Mohuccans, Mohegans, Muhheekanews, Schatikoohs, Stockbridge, and River Indians, by the

\* HUTCH. Hist. Mass. vol. i. p. 458.—TREMB. Hist. Conn. vol. i ch. ii —  
GOOKIN'S Ind. Coll. in Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.

† Formerly written Quonehtacut and Quonehtiquot.

English. One asserts them to have been ‘a people of a different nation and language’ from any of the other Indians in New England;\* another makes them the same with the Piquods;† and a third finds their language among all the eastern tribes.‡ Whatever may be the truth of these deductions, there is no doubt, that the Mohicans were once very numerous. In 1670, there were, in Windsor alone, ten different tribes; who could muster two thousand warriors. It was about the year 1734, that a colony settled at Stockbridge, in Massachusetts; where they resided till 1787; and then emigrated to Oneida. In 1793, the whole number of the Mohicans did not exceed three hundred souls. Some fled to Canada: others removed to Ohio; and not a single individual is now to be found, in their ancient territories.§

There were many tribes on Long Island; but we have not been able to ascertain either their names, or their numbers. The greater part of New York was inhabited by the Five Nations; who, according to their own account, came voluntarily from about Montreal;|| but, if we are to believe others, they were driven from

\* HUTCH. Mass. vol. i. p. 457.

† TRUMB. Conn. vol. i. p. 28.

‡ MASS. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. p. 77.

§ TRUMB. Conn. vol. i. ch. ii.—HECKEW. Hist. pp. 77, 78.

|| COLD. pt. i ch. i



their paternal seats, by the Adirondacks.\* Even before the arrival of the Europeans, they seem to have been a formidable confederacy; and, when amply supplied with fire-arms, by the English, they spread the terror of their name over the whole extent of the present United States.† Two ambassadors used to go about to collect tribute once in every year or two; and ‘an old Mohawk sachem,’ says their historian, ‘in a poor blanket and a dirty shirt, might be seen issuing his orders with as much authority as a Roman dictator.’‡

This predominance was not gained by their numbers; but by their firm union among themselves, and their steady alliance with the English. Their numbers, however, were by no means contemptible. Some of the present old men remember the time, when a blast of the horn, on Onondaga hill, would rally two thousand fighting men. As parties were constantly abroad, in the prosecution of their wars, the whites could have no opportunity to ascertain their real numbers. One states the fighting men at twenty-one hundred and fifty, in 1677;§ another says, there were but twelve hundred, in 1756;|| and a third finds fifteen hundred, in 1760.¶

The Tuscaroras, it is said, were constituted the

\* SMITH'S N. Y. p. 43.

§ CHALMER'S Polit. Ann. p. 605.

† COLD. p. 36.

|| SMITH'S N. Y. p. 34. note

¶ COLD. Introd. p. 4

• DOUGLASS' Hist. MASS.

*Sixth Nation*, because their language appeared to be similar to that of the others;\* and it may have been for the opposite reason, that the Stockbridge Indians, though six times as numerous, were not admitted to the same distinction. According to an accurate census, in 1719, the whole Six Nations were found to contain six thousand three hundred and thirty persons.† The Mohawks, (called Annies by the French,) were, at first, the ‘fathers’ of the family; and resided about forty miles west of Albany, on the south side of the river, which still bears the name.‡ They have entirely disappeared from their ancient residence; but, in 1794, there were three hundred still left in Canada. The Oneidas are the eldest son. Their castle, which, like the others, was formerly enclosed with palisades, is about one hundred miles westward from Albany; and their numbers, in 1794, were six hundred and twenty-eight, at their old abode, and four hundred and sixty, in Canada. The third son was the Onandagoes; who are between thirty and forty miles west of the Oneidas; and, in 1794, amounted to four hundred and fifty. The Cayugas, or fourth son, dwelt upon the lake, which retains their name; and had dwindled to forty souls, in 1794. The Senecas, formerly the youngest son, were two hundred and forty

\* SMITH’S N. Y. p. 35. note.

‡ COLD. App. p. 13.

† MORSE’S Geog. 1812. vol. i. p. 336.

miles from Albany; and, in the same year, could still muster seventeen hundred and eighty warriors. The Tuscaroras are now the youngest son. They are divided between the Oneidas and Onondagas; and, in 1794, had four hundred souls. The Stockbridge or Brothertown Indians then amounted to twenty-three hundred and thirty; and had their settlement in the neighbourhood of the Oneidas.\* By holding the absolute sway over the persons and property of many surrounding tribes, the Five Nations have been enabled to continue their existence, as a body, much longer than their neighbours; but they are now following the way, which the others have led; and a few years will probably relieve the whites of their presence.

Little is known of the tribes, which originally occupied Nova Cæsaria, or New Jersey; but it is certain, that the first governor purchased the land of the Indians; and that they felt themselves sufficiently powerful to resist the acquisition of their territory, in any other manner. When one of the early settlers of Middletown, had begun to erect his house, upon ground, for which nothing had been paid, a party of the aborigines seized hold of the posts and frame; asserted the building to be theirs; and vowed to drive off his cattle, and burn his hay, unless he would give

\* CLINTON'S Discourse before the N. Y. Hist. Soc. 1811.—COLD. App pp. 13, 14.—HECKEW. p. 80.

them a satisfactory price.\* The Indian name of New Jersey was Scheyichbi;† and its native inhabitants are said to have been ‘distinguished from the back Indians, who were a more warlike race, by the general name of the Delawares.’‡ It is difficult, however, to know where the line must be drawn. Some tribes had only an occasional residence; and others were common to New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Such as were peculiar to the latter, amounted to thirty-two; and their whole number of souls was probably ten thousand.§ The king of the Raritons, in the north, had his residence, it is said, upon a square rock, two miles in circuit, and one hundred and fifty

\* SMITH’S Hist. N. J. p. 65.

† HECKEW. p. 32.

‡ SMITH’S N. J. p. 136. The remark seems to have been well founded. A murder, among modern Indians, can only be expiated by blood; but, with the aborigines of New Jersey, it was sufficiently atoned for, by presents; and, as another remarkable difference between the two races, the price of a woman was double that of a man. Ibid. p. 141.

§ SMITH, N. J. pp. 29, 30. note. The order of the tribes, in the lower extremity, was as follows :—

TRIBES.	WARRIORS.
Kechemeches,	50
Maritises,	100
Seckoneses,	—
Asoomaches,	100
Esewonecks,	40
Ramocks,	40
Axions,	200
Calafars,	150
Massellans,	200



feet high; accessible only by a narrow entrance, which was guarded by two hundred men.\*

A part of New Jersey was formerly claimed by the Swedes; who, according to their own account, ‘purchased of the natives all the land from Cape In Lopen, in the bay, unto the great fall up the Delaware.’† The north line was in latitude  $39^{\circ} 40'$ ; and the purchase embraced both sides of the river. We have no further account of the Indians in Delaware. Their chief sachem seems to have been Tenecum; but, as late as 1654, there were, at least, ten others.‡

The natives of Pennsylvania were principally the Delawares, or Lenapes. We have not been enabled either to find a list of the tribes, or to ascertain the extent of their dominions. Their own relations appear to be little better than fables; and whence they came, or whither they have gone, are questions, which we never expect to see resolved. Our earliest authentic accounts make them the abject dependants of the Five Nations; who claimed their territory by conquest, and sold it by that title. The Asseinpinks formerly resided upon Stoney Creek; the Andastakas, near Wilmington, in Delaware; the Nishamines, in Bucks County; the Mantas, or Frogs, about Burling-

\* SMITH'S N. J. p. 31. note.

† HOLM'S Hist. New Sweedland. N. Y. Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 351.

‡ Id. *ibid.*

ton; and the Shackamaxons, in Kensington, near Philadelphia.\* The place, where the latter now stands, was called Kúequenáku, or Kooekwenowkoo, 'the grove of long pines.'† In 1648, the Susquehannas had only one hundred warriors; but, with their allies, the Johnadoes and Wecamases, they could muster two hundred and fifty.‡ The Nariaticongs, Capitanashes, Gacheos, Pomptons, and some others, are not assignable to any particular place.§ In 1742, the remnant of the Delawares were ordered, by the Five Nations, to remove to Shamokin or Wyoming;|| but their masters told them, that it was doubtful, whether they would be permitted to reside at either of those places; and they, at last, accepted the invitation of the Wyandots, to go and live in the west; where, in time, they grew so strong, that, with the countenance of their neighbours, they defied the Five Nations, and made frequent inroads upon Pennsylvania.¶ The Delawares of the west, however, are a mixture of many races; and, indeed, the members of the original nation have been scattered all over the continent.

The tribes in the western parts of the United States, between the Ohio and Mississippi, have been chiefly formed from fragments of other nations. Those, with

\* PROUD'S Hist. Pennsylv. vol. ii. pp. 294-5. § Ibid. p. 136.

† HECKEW. p. 130.

|| COLD. App. p. 80.

‡ SMITH N. J. p. 30

¶ HECKEW. pp. 66, 67.

whom we have been connected by treaty, are the Wyandots, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Miamies, the Potawatimies, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Piankashaws, the Kaskaskias, and the Sacks.

The Wyandots were originally settled upon the St. Lawrence; and, under the name of the Quatoghies, formed an alliance with the Adirondacks, in their wars with the Five Nations. When beaten by the latter, they fled to the south-west, and sheltered themselves on an island; but their enemies discovered their retreat; and, as a last resource, they put themselves under the protection of the Potawatimies, who lived one day's journey to the west.\* At what time they emigrated to their present residence, we know not. The territory, which they formerly claimed, was bounded south and east, by the settlements of Ohio; north, by Lake Erie; and west, by the Miami of the Lakes. They are called Hurons, or Guyandots, by the French; and Delamattonos, by the Delawares.† The proper name is said to be Ahouandâte;‡ which has been corrupted into Wyandot, Junúndat, and Wanat.§ Their whole number of warriors did not exceed three hundred, in 1759; and they had fallen to one hundred and eighty, in 1779.|| Yet their

\* Cold. pp. 28-30.

§ BART. New Views, p. mii.

† Ibid. p. 28.—HECKEW. p. 64.

‡ JEFF. NOTES. QUER. xi.

‡ HECKEW. p. 27

superior energy has given them the lead of the western Indians; and they accordingly hold the grand calumet, which lights the council fires. In the late war, their numbers were about equally divided between the Crane, at Sandusky, who was on the American side; and Walk-in-the-Water, at Brownstown, who took part with the British.\*

It was in the year 1768, that the greatest part of the Delawares emigrated to Ohio. They had little inclination to be 'under the eye' of the Five Nations; and, when the latter attempted, in the year 1776 or 1777, to form a league of all the Indians against the United Provinces, a Delaware chief answered their messenger, that his nation had duffed the symbol of womanhood, and must thenceforward be treated as men.† Their first establishment was at the mouth of the Auglaize; but, after the treaty of Greenville, they removed, by permission of the Miamies, to the head-waters of White River, a large branch of the Wabash.‡ They could boast of six hundred fighting men, in 1759; nor had they lost but one hundred, from that time to 1779.§

The Shawanese are a tribe from Georgia. Their residence was formerly upon the Savannah River;

\* Hist. of the late War in the W. Country. By ROBERT B. M'AFFEE, p. 43.

† BART. p. xxviii.

‡ M'AFFEE'S Hist. p. 43.

§ JEFF. Notes QUER. xi.



which still bears their name.\* Their towns were broken up, by a league of their neighbours; and the main body, taking their way to the northward, first established themselves upon the Ohio: whence detachments proceeded to the east, and settled among the Lenapes; some, in Lancaster county; some, at the forks of the Delaware; and some, upon the very spot, where Philadelphia now stands.† A party of those, who remained, fell, by mistake, upon the Delawares; and, as this circumstance created a disagreement between the two nations, the Shawanese had all left Pennsylvania, before the French war of 1756.‡ The tribe is now united; and their two largest towns are at Stoney Creek, a tributary of the Big Miami; and at Wapockanata, on the Auglaize.§ In 1759, their warriors were estimated at five hundred; and, twenty years afterwards, at three hundred.|| The name is said to have been derived from a word, which signifies ‘south;’ and it is written, Chowanoes, Savannas, Savanucas, Shawanos, Sawanos, Sawanons, Shawnees, and Shawanese.¶ In the late war, their chiefs were Tecumseh, Blackhoof, Wolf, and Lewis; the three latter of whom were attached to the American interest.\*\*

\* ADAIR'S Hist. p. 340.

|| JEFF. Notes. Q. xi.

† BART. p. xxxii.—HECKEW.  
pp. 69, 70.

¶ Id. Ibid.—BART. p. xxxii.—HECKEW.  
p. 69.—COLD. p. 70, note.

‡ HECKEW. pp. 70, 71.

\*\* M'AFFEE, p. 43

§ M'AFFEE'S Hist. p. 43

The Miamies are the only tribe, who have no tradition of a removal from some remote part of the country. They were first brought into notice, under the name of Twightwies, by the inroads of the Five Nations; and, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, they lived at a place, called Chicagou, at the foot of lake Michigan.\* Their principal settlements are now at the forks of the Wabash, thirty miles from Fort Wayne; and at Mississineway, thirty miles farther down. In 1745, they could rally four hundred fighting men; but, in 1809, chiefly by their wars with the Sacks and Kickapoos, their number was reduced to thirty.† Their present name was given them by the French;‡ and it is sometimes spelled Miamis, and sometimes, Maumes.

The Kaskaskias, the Chahokias, the Peorians, the Michigans, and the Temorois are all said to speak the Miami language, and to be branches of the same people.§ In 1768, the Kaskaskias had three hundred warriors.|| The Chahokias appear to be the same with the Chictaghicks; who, after a war of six years, were formerly subdued by the Five Nations. In 1759, they could still call together four hundred warriors; and, in 1768, the number was only lessened

\* M'AFF. Hist. p. 43.—COLD. p. 72.

App. 21.—BART. p. xxxiii.

† M'AFF. Hist. p. 43.

‡ COLD. App. p. 21.

§ M'AFF. Hist. p. 43.

|| JEFF. Not. Q. xi

by a hundred. The French gave them the name of Illinois; which is sometimes written Willinis.\* The Peorians live upon the river Illinois; and, in 1764, were eight hundred strong.† Of the Michigans and Temorois, we know nothing; unless, indeed, these names stand for the Shakies, Maynonamies, Ouir-consings, Kickopous, Otogamies, (Foxes,) Mascoutens, Outimacks, and Musquakies; who formerly lived about lake Michigan; and, in 1768, are said to have amounted to four thousand warriors ‡ The Kickapous are supposed to have been a branch of the Shawanese; and the name is spelled Kikabous, Kekkapoos, or Oucahipoues.§ In 1766, the chief town of the Shakies, or Saukies, had ‘regular and spacious streets;’ and contained about ninety houses, built of hewn timber, neatly fitted together, and covered with bark so compactly joined, as to defy the most violent rains.||

\* COLD. p. 72.—JEFF. Q. xi.—PROVD. ‡ Id. Ibid.

Penn. vol. ii. p. 296.

§ COLD. p. 89.—BART. p. xxxiii

† JEFF. Q. xi.

|| CARVER'S Trav. pp. 46, 47. This reminds us of the houses found by De Soto; and, however rude such edifices may appear, to Europeans of the nineteenth century, a retrospect of three or four hundred years will find their ancestors in dwellings of nearly the same kind. ‘From the years 1300 to 1500,’ says a writer of authority, ‘in the towns of France, Germany, and England, they had scarce any but thatched houses; and the same might be said of the poorer towns in Italy: and although those countries were overrun with wood, they had not as yet learned to guard

The Potawatimies were once a formidable nation; and, since the settlement of the country, they appear to have emigrated to their present seats, from some place north of the lakes. They arrested the victorious career of the Five Nations; and compelled them to make an amicable adjustment of their difficulties. According to their own account, they came last from the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi; and their present establishments are at Chippoy and Tippecanoe, on the Wabash. Their warriors, in 1764, were three hundred and fifty; and they are stated at the same number in 1794.\*

The Ottawas were formerly in alliance with the Adirondacks; and fled to the westward, at the same time with the Wyandots. Their principal settlement was at Michilimackinack, or Teiadonderaghie: and, in 1779, they and the Chippewas together, could number five thousand four hundred and fifty warriors. The name is sometimes written Uttawas; but the true orthography is said to be W'táwas; the W being whistled, according to the Indian mode.†

against the cold, by the means of chimnies, (the kitchen excepted,) an invention so useful and ornamental to our modern apartments. The custom then was, for the whole family to sit in the middle of a smoky hall, round a large stove, the funnel of which passed the ceiling.' ANDERSON'S Hist. Commerce.

\* COLD. p. 30.—JEFF. QUER. xi.—TRUMB. Ind. Wars. The Report of Mr. Hawkins.

† COLD. pp. 28, 29, 73.—JEFF. Q. xi.—HECKEW. p. 22, note



A line, running nearly north, from the foot of Lake Michigan, through the straits of Michilimackinack, divides the country of the Chippewas from that of the Ottawas. The principal settlements of the latter are on the west side of the lake. In 1764, their fighting men amounted to about twenty-five hundred; and, two years afterwards, they were found at war with a confederacy of eleven wandering tribes, under the name of the Naudowassies. The latter had more than two thousand warriors; and, the numbers of the two nations being so nearly equal, hostilities had continued, with various success, for more than forty winters.\*

The Winnebagoes, on the lake of that name, appear to be a different race from their neighbours. If we may believe their own account, they came from a far country, to the south: they speak a language totally different from the other tribes: they submit to the authority of a queen; cultivate great quantities of maize, beans, and other vegetables; and build their houses of strong and durable materials. They have about two hundred warriors; and, their chief town, which consists of sixty houses, is situated about thirty-five miles from Green Bay.†

The Sacks appear to be the same with the Ottigaumies; and they claim the country north of the Illi-

\* CARV. TRAV. pp. 29, 59, 63, 80.

† Ibid. pp. 32-37

nois. Vincennes was the ancient residence of the Piankashaws; who now live upon the Wabash. In 1759, they had three hundred warriors; and, at the close of our revolution, about two hundred and fifty. The Ouiatonons and Shakies live upon the same river, and may be branches of the same people. In 1768, the warriors of the latter amounted to two hundred; and, in 1779, the former counted three hundred.\*

We now return to Maryland, according to our division; which, like most divisions of the same kind, has little foundation but caprice. Lord Baltimore's land was held by what is called *petit sergeanty*:—he was to render yearly a certain number of Indian arrows. When his first governor landed, in 1634, he gave an entertainment to the kings, or *werowances*, of the aborigines; and the two leading tribes, at that time, appear to have been the *Petuxents* and the *Yoama-coes*.† The Eastern Shore was occupied by the *Nanticockes*; who, about the middle of the last century, removed to Wyoming, on the Delaware. Joining the British in the revolutionary war, they went into Canada. When the contest had terminated, they assembled upon the *Huron River*; and, finding themselves dwindled to fifty souls, they united their fortunes with the *Shawanese*.‡

\* CARV. Trav. p. 39:—M'AFF. Hist. p. 43.—TRUMB. Ind. War.—JEFF. Q. xi.

† BOZMAN'S Hist. Maryl. pp. 275-6.

‡ HECKEW. pp. 73-77.

The first settlers of Virginia found the territory occupied by three extensive confederacies,—the Powhatans, the Mannahoacs, and the Monacans; who spoke languages so radically different, that it was necessary to employ interpreters in the transaction of their business. Pains were early taken to preserve some account of these tribes; and, as a specimen of the mode in which the whole continent was originally peopled, we copy from the Notes on Virginia, the subjoined table of the Powhatans:

TRIBES.	COUNTRY.	WARRIORS.	
		1607	1669
Tauxenents	Fairfax	40	
Patówomekes	Stafford. King George	100	
Cuttatawomans	King George	20	60
Pissasecs	King Geo. Richmond	—	
Onaumanients	Westmoreland	100	
Rappahànocs	Richmond county	100	30
Moraughtacunds	Lancaster. Richmond	80	40
Secacaonies	Northumberland	30	
Wérowocòmicos	Northumberland	130	70
Cuttatawomans	Lancaster	30	
Nantaughtacunds	Essex. Caroline	150	60
Màttapomènts	Mattapony River	30	20
Pamùnkies	King William	300	50
Wérowocòmicos	Gloucester	40	
Payànkatonks	Piankstank River	55	

TRIBES.	COUNTRY.	WARRIORS.	
		1607	1669
Youghtanunds	Pamunkey River	60	
Chickahòminies	Chickahominy River	250	60
Powhatàns	Henrico	40	10
Arrohàtòcks	Henrico	30	
Wèanocs	Charles city	100	15
Paspahèghes	Charles city. James city	40	
Chiskiacs	York	45	15
Kecoughtàns	Elizabeth city	20	
Appamàttocs	Chesterfield	60	50
Quiocohànoes	Surry	25	3 Pohics
Wàrrasqueaks	Isle of Wight		
Nasamónds	Nansamond	200	45
Chésapeaks	Princess Anne	100	
Accohanocks	Accom. Northampton	40	
Accomácks	Northampton	80	

Eight hundred square miles, thirty-two tribes, and two thousand four hundred warriors, most probably constituted the ratio in all our aboriginal nations. The tribes of the Mannahaacs were thus distributed: in Fauquier county, the Whonkenties and Tauxitan-tians; in Culpepper, the Tegninaties and Hassi-nungæs; in Orange, the Ontponies and Stakerakies; in Stafford and Spotsylvania, the Shackakonies and Manahoakes. Of the Monacans, the tribe, which gave name to the confederacy, resided on James River, above the falls; the Monassiecapanoes, in Louisa and Fluviana; the Mnahassanoes, in Bedford and Buckingham; the Massicanaes, in Cum-



berland; and the Mohemenchoes, in Powhatan. It was the Monacans, who, under the name of Tuscaroras, or Tuskeruroes\* were beaten by the Carolinians, in 1712; and have since formed the 'youngest son' in the family of the Six Nations.

Besides these three confederacies, there were the three tribes of the Nottoways, on the river of that name; and the Meherrins and Tuteloës, on the Meherrin River. Of the Nottoways, not a male was left in 1781. The Meherrins and Tuteloës were the friends of the Tuscaroras; and, when the Susquehannocks had disappeared, the Five Nations permitted them to occupy the vacant territory.†

Beyond the mountains, in the territory, which is now the state of Kentucky, there was a very warlike nation, by the name of the Massawomees.‡ They were very numerous; and seem to have been equally hostile to the red-men, and the whites. Kentucky was settled in 1770; and the adventures of the family, who first trusted themselves in the wilderness, form a romantic tale in her early history.§

Some nations of Indians were common to Virginia and North Carolina. In 1700, there were still

\* BART. p. xl.

† JEFF. Notes, Q. xi.—PROUD'S Pennsylv. vol. ii. p. 295.

‡ JEFF. Q. xi.

§ MARSHALL'S Hist. Kenty

remaining, in the latter, thirteen tribes, twenty-eight towns, and fifteen hundred and eighty-two warriors.\*

TRIBES.	TOWNS.	WARRIORS.	RESIDENCE.
Tuscaroras	15	1200	Bertie county
Waccons	2	120	Halifax on the Roanoke
Mackapomgas	1	30	Hyde county
Bear-Rivers	1	50	Bear River
Meherrin	1	50	Meherrin River
Chowans	1	15	Chowan county
Pasquotanks	1	10	Pasquotank county
Poteskoits	1	30	Cursituck county
Hatteras	1	16	Hatteras Banks
Connanons	2	25	
Neus	2	15	Neus River
Pamlicos, or } Pampticaughs }	1	15	Pamlico Sound
Jaupims	1	6	Jaupim River

The remaining territory of the United States, on this side of the Mississippi, was occupied by the Natchees, the Cherakes or Cherokees, the Katahbas, the Chikkasahs, the Muskoghes or Creeks, and the Choktahs. The Natchees, who have long since become extinct, were seated in the western parts of Tennessee. They were once very numerous; and, as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, withstood, for a long time, two thousand French regulars, and a great body of Choktah warriors. Being, at last,

\* LAWSON'S Hist. N. C.

totally defeated, a part was burnt by the Choktahs; and a part sent as slaves to the West Indies.\*

In 1775, the Cherokees dwelt chiefly upon the head waters of the Savannah, the Catahoochee, the Alabama, the Tennessee, and Cumberland Rivers. They have a tradition, that they came from the west, and exterminated a certain 'moon-eyed people.'† Their territory was about one hundred and forty miles broad, from east to west; and extended from the thirty-fourth to nearly the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. They divided it into Lower and Upper. About the beginning of the last century, they had sixty-four populous towns; and could command more than six thousand warriors. Fifty years afterwards, their towns were probably reduced to thirty; for their warriors did not exceed three thousand.‡ Two thousand two hundred hunters were counted, in 1769; and, in 1793, they were estimated at fifteen hundred.§ In 1775, the towns west of the Appalachian mountains were Tennàse, Choàte, Great-Telliko, and Hewhase.|| Those, in the other parts, were 'Ish-tatohe, Echia, Toogala, &c.'¶ The Cherakes, too,

\* ADAIR'S Hist. Amer. Ind. pp. 355-6.

§ ADAIR, pp. 226-7.

† Ibid. p. 226.

|| Ibid. p. 252.

‡ BART. p. xliii.

¶ Such is the mode, in which Mr. Adair gives us a history of the Indians. He has written four hundred and sixty-four finely printed pages, in quarto; and we might safely undertake to compress, in less than a

imagine themselves superior to all other men; and their name is accordingly derived from *Cheera*, the divine fire.\*

The Katalbas resided upon the river of the same name. In 1765, their territory was bounded 'north and north-east, by North Carolina; east and south, by South Carolina; and about west-south-west, by the Cheerake nation.'† When South Carolina was first settled, the Katalba warriors amounted to fifteen hundred. In 1743, they were reduced to four hundred; and, twenty years after, there were but a few above one hundred.‡ The province originally contained twenty-eight tribes, of different nations;§ and we are favoured with the 'mention of a few' of the Katalbas:—the Waterees; 'Enówahs, Charàhs, Canggarees, Nachees, Yamasees, Coosahs, &c.'|| They formerly cultivated a great extent of ground; and one of their fields is said to have been seven miles in length.¶

dozen, all the definite information, which they contain. He seems to have been a very bigotted man; and to have had a good opinion of no measures, but his own, and of nobody, but himself. From a resident of forty years among the Indians, we expected some precise account of their names, numbers, and situation: but, instead of such details, Mr. Adair writes chapter after chapter, about what the French have attempted, what the English might do, and what he did. The historians of particular states are, for the most, equally delinquent. They often give us accurate enumerations of the plants and animals; but of man, they seldom think it worth while to say any thing.

\* BART. p. xlv.

† ADAIR, p. 223.

‡ Ibid. p. 224.

§ RAMSEY'S Hist. S. C.

|| ADAIR, p. 224.

¶ Ibid. p. 225.



The Muskohges, or Creeks, are the most powerful confederacy in the southern states. They point to the west, as the place of their origin; and tell a story of men, who had hair all over their bodies, and carried thunder and lightning in their hands.\* Their English name is derived from the multiplicity of streams, which supply them with food: it is a part of their policy to incorporate with themselves, such nations as have been driven from their paternal seats: they have been prompted to spend a great part of their time in the cultivation of their grounds; and, as a remarkable exception to the common progress of the tribes in the United States, their numbers are said to have doubled between 1730 and 1760.† The territory, claimed by the original tribe, extends from the Tombigbee to the Atlantic; and from Florida to the thirty-fourth degree of north latitude. In 1775, their grounds were one hundred and eighty miles in length; and they were ‘situated,’ says their historian, ‘between the Cheerake, Georgia, East and West Florida, and the Choktah and Chickkasah nations, the one two hundred, and the other three hundred miles up the Mississippi.’‡ They are divided into Upper and Lower; and the latter have acquired the name of Seminoles. In 1775, the former could assemble three thousand five hundred warriors; and, in 1791, both

\* BART. p. xlvii

† ADAIR, p. 259

‡ Ibid. p. 257

together had five thousand hunters. Their towns were stated at fifty, in 1775; and at sixty, in 1791.\* The names of the principal tribes were the Apalaches, the Alabamas, the Abecas, the Cawittaws, the Conshachs, the Coosas, the Coosactees, the Chacsihoomas, the Natchees, the Oakmulgees, Oconeas, Okohoyas, Pakanas, Taensas, Talepoosas, and Weektumkas.

The Chikkasahs and Choktahs are said to have crossed the Mississippi as one family; and to have been able, at their first settlement on this side, to summon ten thousand fighting men. The towns of the former are upon the head branches of the Mobile and Yazoo rivers. In 1729, they had, we are told, 'four large contiguous settlements, which lay nearly in the form of three parts of a square, only that the eastern side was five times shorter than the western, with the open part toward the Choktah. One was called Yaneha, about a mile wide, and six miles long, at the distance of twelve miles from their present towns. Another was ten computed miles long, at the like distance from their present settlements, and from one to two miles broad. The towns were called Shatara, Chookheereso, Hykehah, Tuskawillao, and Phalacheho. The other square was single, began three miles from their present place of residence, and ran four miles in length, and one mile in breadth. This was called Chookka Pharaah, or the Long House. It was more populous than

\* ADAIR, p. 257.—BART. p. xlvii.

their whole nation contains at present. The remains of this once formidable people, make up the northern angle of that broken square.\* In 1764, their warriors amounted to seven hundred and fifty; but, four years afterwards, they were reduced to five hundred;† and, in 1775, they are stated at four hundred and fifty.‡

In 1775, the territory of the Choktahs lay in the form of an oblong square; and it was only upon the sides, which faced the Creeks and Chikkasahs, that they had numerous or extensive settlements. Their lower towns were two hundred miles north of New Orleans; the upper, one hundred and fifty to the south of Chikkasah, and at the same distance north of Mobile.§ The French once estimated their warriors at nine thousand. In 1759, they were stated to be only two thousand: in 1764 and 1775, they were calculated at four thousand five hundred; but, in 1793, their hunters are said to have dwindled to five or six hundred.|| It was formerly a custom among the Choktahs, to flatten their skulls, by imposing a bag of sand upon the top, while infants; but, it is said, they have long ceased to think, that there is either beauty or virtue in a flat head.¶

\* ADAIR, pp. 352-3. The reader will infer, from this passage, that, if our sketch of Indian history is obscure and unsatisfactory, the fault is not always to be laid at our own door.

† JEFF. Q. xi.

|| JEFF. Q. xi.—AD. p. 282.—BART. p. xlviii

‡ ADAIR, p. 353

¶ BART. p. 1

§ Ibid. p. 282

The Indians of Louisiana are still imperfectly known. A list of their names and numbers was constructed in 1764;\* but the following table is the latest, and probably the most accurate.†

NAMES.	NO. OF WARRIORS.	NO. OF SOULS.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.
Osages			
Big Osage	1500	5500	The Osage, Missouri, and Arkansas.
Little Osage			
Big Track			
Big Track			
Kansas	300	1500	Kansas River.
Panis			
{ Loup	400	2000	Platte and Kansas.
{ Republican	350	1600	Kansas.
{ Loup	300	1500	Wolf River.
Mahas	250	800	80 leagues above the Platte.
Poncas	80	450	Missouri at the Qui Courre.
Ottos and Missouries	80	450	Platte, near the Elk Horn.
Chiennes	500	1600	Chienne, at its head.
Arikaras	800	3000	1400 miles
Mandans	350	2000	600 miles
Awahaways	50	300	} up the Missouri.
Mimtares	600	2500	
Watepanetoes and			
Ryuwas	200	900	Padoncas Fork.
Padoncas	300	1000	Padoncas.
Kanenawish	1500	5000	Yellow Stone, at its head.
Pastannownas	400	1500	Between Padoncas Fork and Platte.
Crow Indians	2000	7000	{ Scattered about the heads of Yellow
Paunch Indians	800	2500	{ Stone and Missouri.
Asseneboin	900	3500	Missouri, near the head.
Black Foot	2500	5500	Three tribes, near the Missouri.
Gros Ventres of the			
Prairie	500	2000	Missouri, near the head.
Ayutans or Camanches	2000	8000	N. E. } side of the Missouri.
			S. W. }

\* BOUQUET'S Acc. of his West. Exped.

† BRACKENRIDGE'S Views, pp. 85-88.



NAMES.	NO. OF WARRIORS.	NO. OF SOULS.	PLACES OF RESIDENCE.
Snake Indians	900	5500	Heads of the Ark. Yel. Stone, and Platte.
Blue Mud, and Long } Haired Indians }			Head of the Columbia.
Flat Heads			West side of the Rocky Mountains.
Knistenoos	300	1000	Assenebon, and along the lakes.
Algonquins	1000	5000	{ Red River of Winnipeck and heads of the Mississippi.
Chippoways	900	4000	
Saukees	500	2500	Mississippi, below St. Anthony's Falls.
Foxes	300	2000	With the Saukees.
Shawanese	300	800	Mississippi and St. Francis.
Ayuas	200	600	Riv. de Moines.
Chikkasahs and Che- } rokees }	500	2000	White River.
Arkansas	200	—	Arkansas.
Codoques	110	—	Red River, above Natchitoches.
Nandakoes	40	180	Sabine.
Addaize	20	100	40 miles from Natchitoches.
Alishes		25	Near Natchitoches.
Keyeshees	60	200	Trinity, E. Branch.
Tachees	80	250	Branch of the Sabine.
Nabedoches	80	250	S. W. of the Sabine.
Bedees	100	320	Trinity.
Acokesas	80	280	W. of the Colerado of St. Bernard.
Mayees	200	—	Guadaloupe, near the mouth.
Karankoas	500	1800	Peninsula of Bernard Bay.
Cances	2000	5000	From St. Bernard to Vera Creek.
Tanks	200	700	Colerado and Trinity.
Tawakenoes	200	700	200 miles N. of Nacogdoches.
Tawakeneos, or Panis	500	2500	S. of Red River, above the Caddoques.
Natchitoches			Nearly extinct.
Boluxas	25	100	60 miles below Natchitoches.
Appalaches	14	50	Boyau Rapide.
Alabamas			
Conchatees			
Pacanas			
Attakapas			
Oppelousas	400	—	Scattered over Louisiana State.
Tumcas			
Tensas			
Washas			
Chactaws	2000	5500	Ditto.

Besides these, there are, along the shores of the Pacific, a number of tribes, which must fall within our empire. The **Klaizzarts**, who amount to three thousand souls, reside about three hundred miles southward of **Nootka**. They pluck out their eyebrows, and flatten their heads. The **Wickinninish** are about two thousand two hundred in number; and live at the distance of one hundred miles north of the **Klaizzarts**. Instead of flattening the top of the head, like the latter, they compress its sides, and make it resemble a sugar-loaf. The **Klaooquates**, who are the next tribe, on the north, consist of about twelve hundred. The **Esquates** have the same number. The **Nootkians** count fifteen hundred; and are considered as the leading tribe. About forty miles north of them, are the **Aitizzarts**, who have but nine hundred souls. The next tribe is the **Cayuquet**; which may contain two thousand. There are many intervening tribes; but we have not been enabled to ascertain their names or numbers.\*

Distant observers are apt to represent the Indians, like the **Cyclops**, as totally destitute of policy or government;† while those, who have too near a view,

\* **JEWITT's** Narr. of his Captivity in **Nootka**.

† ————— A savage kind,  
Nor tam'd by manners, nor by laws confin'd :  
Untaught to plant, to turn the glebe and sow :  
They all their products to free nature owe

are fond of painting their state as the most perfect, in both these respects, of which the nature of the species is susceptible. The truth never lies in extremes. The Indians are neither Cyclops, nor angels. That they have some government, it would now be ridiculous to deny; and that the different nations are capable of associating for the attainment of a joint object, is manifest from the whole history of the United States. While we were yet in infancy, they foresaw the inevitable consequences of our growth; and often formed extensive confederacies, for our extermination. Through all our wars with the French, too, they observed the invariable policy of joining the strongest party, or selling themselves to the highest bidder; and a brief review of the conduct pursued by the western clans, will show, that, while their allies tendered them bribes for their co-operation, they only paid them for serving their own purposes.

At the commencement of the French war, in 1756, they were on the side of the Canadian governors; and it was not until the capture of Fort Du Quesne, in 1758, that they abandoned the French for the English. From that time, to the close of the revolution, they

\* \* \* \* \*

By these no statutes and no rights are known,  
No council held, no monarch fills the throne.

Pope's Il. b. ix

continued faithful to the English interest; nor was it till 1794, that the devastation of their country, by the *Big Wind*, (as they called General Wayne,) convinced them, that the Americans were the strongest party. The peace of Greenville, however, did not completely secure their friendship. The two leading chiefs, Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, had disagreed as to the mode of opposing General Wayne: the plan of the former was finally adopted; and, as it had eventuated in discomfiture, he was resolved to retrieve his character, and, in his own language, to try once more the strength of the *Big Knife*.\* He found an able and ready coadjutor in Tecumseh; and these two enterprising and popular leaders matured the design of uniting every tribe of western Indians, in a confederacy against the encroachments and the civilization of the whites.† Blue Jacket did not live to assist in the execution of the project. Tecumseh took it upon

\* M'ARR. Hist. pp. 8, 9.

† The plan was partially formed in 1807; when the *Trout*, a Chippewa sachem, who pretended to have been the creator of the first man, delivered a *talk* on the subject, at Le Maoutinong, near the entrance of Lake Michigan. 'The Americans,' said he, 'I did not make. They grew from the scum of the great waters, when they were troubled by the Evil Spirit, and the froth was driven into the woods by a strong east wind. They are numerous; but I hate them.' And, he adds, that 'the world is broken and leans down; and, as it declines, the Chippewas and all beyond will fall off and die.' Extracts of letters to the secretary of war, laid before congress, June 11, 1812, on a call of the committee for Indian affairs.



himself alone; and he declared, that he would never rest, until, to use his own bold language, he had erected 'a dam' against the 'mighty water,' which threatened to prostrate and sweep away his people.\* He repeated this declaration on all occasions; and, that he might verify his menace, he visited, in person, nearly every tribe of Indians, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico.† To promote this his object, his

\* M'AFF. Hist. pp. 9-16. By the treaty of Greenville, a community of interests among the Indians seems to have been recognized. Soon after the first election of our third president, he instructed the governor of Ohio to 'object to such a construction, and to negotiate with each tribe separately.' Ibid. p. 46. Tecumseh saw, that this policy would divide the aboriginal commonwealth, and beat the nations in detail. He was enraged beyond measure; and, when the peace of 1809 was concluded, in his absence, he not only threatened, on his return, to kill every chief who had signed the treaty,—but had well nigh killed the governor himself, in the council subsequently held at Vincennes. Ibid. pp. 12, 13, 45. The same enthusiastic resolution of defending his country to the last, was apparent in all his future conduct; and, more particularly, in the talk delivered to the British commander, in October, 1813; when he was retreating before our arms. After expressing his 'astonishment to see him tying up every thing' for a departure, and comparing him 'to a fat animal, that carries its tail upon its back; but, when affrighted, drops it between its legs and runs off,'—he finally tells him, that, if he will leave the Indians some arms and ammunition, 'he may go, and welcome;' and concludes by saying, 'our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands; and, if it be his will, we wish to leave our bones upon them.'

† M'AFF. Hist. pp. 14, 17. See, also, RICH'S Life of Gen. Jackson, pp. 26, 27. It is well known, that the intercourse, by runners, between the northern and southern Indians, has never been so frequent or so expeditious as it was during the late war

brother became inspired by the Great Spirit to denounce whiskey, and preach against the use of blankets.\* It was in the execution of the same design, that the frontier Indians committed those acts of hostility, which led to the battle of Tippecanoe; and, when we add, to the general project of opposition, what could only have appeared to them the pusillanimity of government, in refusing every application to repel, by force, the aggressions, which were daily repeated, after that battle,† we can hardly wonder, that they took the side of our enemy, in the ensuing war. The initial operations of the American forces were not calculated to detach them from the British cause; and the surrender, particularly, of Forts Michilimackinac and Detroit, was sufficient to justify their policy, and confirm their choice.‡

With a blind consciousness of the disadvantages, under which they labour, from being unable to write or print their language, the Indians, in their dealings with other nations, have adopted various precautions and contrivances to prevent the mistakes of oral communication, and mental remembrance. If a mere verbal report is brought to a chief, he calls it the ‘song of a passing bird;’ and, until it comes to him with an official string of wampum, he will not even

\* McAFF. p. 10.

† Ibid. p. 41

‡ Ibid. pp. 70, 101.

admit, that he has heard it.\* The Five Nations have a sort of artificial memory, to preserve the speeches made in a negotiation. The leading chief carries with him a bundle of sticks; and, as the opposite speaker finishes each paragraph, he gives it in charge to one of the other sachems, by handing him a stick. Not content with this precaution, when the leading chief is about to deliver his answer, he repeats himself, or causes to be repeated, the whole of what has been said on the other side.† Spies are constantly kept abroad, to watch the conduct of neighbouring nations; and, when they return with any intelligence, they sit down, for a few minutes, to collect themselves, and shape their discourse.‡

It is a very unsatisfactory description of any government, to say, that it is founded upon opinion. That opinion, which supports government, means so many different things,—is formed in such a variety of ways, and exists in such multifarious states, at different times, in different places, and under different circumstances,—that, unlike most other abstractions, the mere word does not afford even a glimpse of illumination. Perhaps, however, it is most intelligible, when applied to the government of the Indians. It exists here, without any of those modifications, produced by the voluminous statutes of civilized communities; and is,

\* HICKS, p. 94.

† COLE, p. 100.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 12.

indeed, little more than that reverence, which prowess and wisdom united, has always been known to inspire. But, as an Indian seldom believes any thing which he does not see or hear himself, the prowess and wisdom of any particular individual could not be known to millions; and, accordingly, it will be found, that, upon an average, the aboriginal nations of our continent seldom exceeded fifteen thousand persons.

Each nation was divided into tribes; each tribe, into villages; and each village, into households. Each house contained several families; and, in these, age was probably a sufficient title to authority. In the villages, and in the tribes, bravery and prudence only were requisite; but, in managing the general concerns of the nation, age must add experience to courage and wisdom. In some nations, the powers of government are divided; and they have their war-chiefs, and their peace-chiefs. In the greater part, too, the leader of some particular tribe is at the head of the confederacy; for, as we have already found occasion to state, when any of these compacts are formed, one tribe (and a chief always identifies himself with his tribe), is appointed to be the *father*, and the others consent to be his *sons*. Each tribe has its council-house: deliberations are held almost every day; and, such is the confidence reposed in their chiefs, that private individuals only inquire what they are to do,—not why it should be done.



There are, however, certain customs, so deeply rooted in the savage character, that it is impossible to bend or control them, in any manner. When, for instance, they have resolved to burn or tomahawk a captive, no moral power on earth can shake their purpose. They become, at once, a frantic mob; and we be unto the chief, who attempts to rescue the victim from their clutches! We may observe, too, that, like all other nations, they have as much law as they need. Most of the laws, which swell our own statute-books, are made for the regulation of private property: but the property of the Indians is, for the most part, in common: almost the only question, which seems to have arisen upon the subject, was, whether infants should have as much as adults; and this has been wisely resolved, by giving to each individual an equal share, without regard to age.

We wish, that the religion of the Indians was as little doubtful as their government. According to some, they have the most sublime notions of Deity: others find them grovelling in the basest superstition: and, if the suffrages were taken, we fear, that the latter would constitute the majority. ‘The Indian,’ says one, ‘considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise, and benevolent Manitto;\* all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as

\* ‘Being or Spirit.’

given to him or allotted for his use, by the Great Spirit who gave him life: he therefore believes it his duty to adore and worship his Creator and Benefactor,' &c.\* Now, it is a little singular, that, when the Swedes first landed in Delaware, the natives gave the same name, *Manitto*, to a being, which is as far from being all-wise, as it is from being benevolent. 'Over against Poætquessingh,' says their historian, 'there useth a sort of fish there with long great teeth, which the Indians call *Manitto*, that is, the devil: he plungeth in the water very much, and spouts the water up as a whale, and the same sort is not seen or found elsewhere in the river.†' The truth, probably, is, that the Indians have some vague idea of a being, who is far superior to themselves; but their ideas are too apt to become definite, at the appearance of any extraordinary phenomenon.‡

\* HECKEW. p. 83.

† HOLM. Ap. N. Y. Coll. vol. ii. p. 348.

‡ The Delawares are said to have preserved an account of what befel their ancestors, when the first Dutch ship arrived at Manhattan Island. They saw it at a distance, and took it to be the great *Manitto*. 'Every measure was taken to be well provided with meat for sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the images or idols were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment to the great being; but it was believed, that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him, if he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a

It appears to be an absurdity to think of instilling into a savage, while he remains a savage, such notions of deity as are entertained by the Christian world. The whole state of an Indian,—his system of habits, thoughts, and persuasions,—is so completely opposed to that of the civilized man, that what the latter teaches, for one thing, the former receives, as another; or, if the doctrine penetrates him at all, it is only to be debased by an association with his own peculiar ideas. He mistakes the purpose of the simplest objects. When Sir Francis Drake put manacles upon a Patagon, in order to carry him away, the unsophisticated being supposed them a most magnificent decoration, and could only express his delight in an obstreperous roar.\* The Dutch, on their arrival at New York, supplied the Indians with axes, hoes, stockings, and other articles. They went their way; but returned, in the following season, with the axes and hoes suspended from their necks, as ornaments, and the stockings turned into tobacco-pouches.†

loss to know what to do. A dance, however, commenced in great confusion. While in this situation fresh runners arrive, declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain that it is the great Manitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before,' &c. This passage is taken from the same book, in which, we are told, the Indians have such exalted ideas of divinity. HECKEW. p. 55.

\* HARRIS, vol. i. p. 8.

† HECKEW. pp. 57, 58

Their notions of Christianity seem to be equally irrational. One of the Jesuits took great pains to convert an Indian chief; and, to all external appearances, he had completely succeeded. ‘The French,’ (at Montreal,) says our author, ‘gave him Christian burial in a pompous manner; the priest, that attended him at his death, having declared that he died a true Christian; for, said the priest, while I explained to him the passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out: Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps.’\*

In their marriages, too, the Indians have nothing in common with civilized men. The contract generally begins, and ends, in mere convenience; or, if the parties are sometimes swayed by a more refined motive, there is so little in their habits to keep it alive, that one or two years are generally sufficient to dissipate the charm. The chief duties of the husband are, to provide a cabin, game, and utensils for cooking. The squaw tills their ground; fetches all their wood; and, when on a journey, transports all their baggage. It is considered as a privilege, that she can change husbands, when she pleases; but this is only the privilege of leaving one master, who has ill-treated her, for another, who will treat her in the

\* *COLD.* p. 198



same manner. It is a privilege, however, that, when she quits her husband, the children follow her; for, as each person, whether old or young, receives an equal dividend of national property, the more numerous the family, the more easy are their circumstances.

Some authors represent the Indians as little superior to beasts of prey; while others make them the most innocent beings, on this side of Paradise. The former only look at their treatment of enemies; and the latter have an eye merely to their conduct towards friends, strangers, and each other. There is some truth on both sides of the picture. The Indians are as extreme in their benevolence, as they are extravagant in their cruelty. They can neither do too much for a friend; nor too much against an enemy. Many of the tribes were accustomed to set apart houses for the sole use of strangers; and, upon the arrival of a guest, a whole village contributed their efforts to give him fit entertainment.\* Experience has taught each tribe, too, that

\* 'There is in every village of the Susquehanna Indians,' says Dr. Franklin, 'a vacant dwelling called the Stranger's House. When a traveller arrives within hearing of a village, he stops and halloos, for it is deemed uncivil to enter abruptly. Two old men lead him to the house, and then go round to the inhabitants, telling them a stranger has arrived fatigued and hungry. They send him all they can spare, bring tobacco after they are refreshed, and then ask questions whence they came and whither they go.'

nothing but the most perfect harmony among themselves, will enable them to maintain their station, in the Indian commonwealth; and we have it from a white, who has been an Onondaga chief, for about forty years, that, during all that time, he has never seen one Indian give another an ill-natured word,—much less, a blow.

We are apt to forget, that, by the very nature of their society, they can have few occasions to quarrel. Whatever ferocity may be ascribed to their character, they must, at least, be acquitted of personal selfishness. There has been but one account of their liberality to those of their own kindred or tribe, since the continent was first discovered. ‘I have always seen these people,’ says Columbus, ‘impart to each other whatever they had;’\* and one, who lives near a tribe, may daily witness the corroboration of his statement. Not only does their way of life create no necessity,—but it is so liable to change, and so little calculated for repose, that it produces no motive,—for the accumulation of private wealth. They are not ambitious of improvement; and know not what is meant by luxury. Their wants are few and simple; and, beyond the gratification of these, they can see no use in property. An Indian, it is said, was told, in answer to his question, that ‘covetousness,’ among

white people, means, 'a desire for more than one has need of.' 'That's strange!' he replied, with a look that accorded with his language.\* Such ideas of property are little fitted to create disputes; for men, who can boast of civilization, may bear to be told, that the greater part of their own quarrels arise from disagreements concerning *mine* and *thine*.†

\* SMITH's Hist. N. Y. p. 35, note.

† It was once said, and has recently been repeated, that some of the aborigines were once cannibals. The Indians of New England used to call all the western tribes, 'Mohawks; which signifies cannibals,' we are told, 'from the Indian word *moho*, to eat.' HUTCH. Mass. vol. i. p. 457, note. In a manuscript book of a Mr. Pyrlæus, who resided among the Mohawks, as a missionary, between 1742 and 1748, there is the following memorandum: 'The Five Nations did formerly eat human flesh, they at one time ate up a whole body of the French king's soldiers, they say *Eto niocht achquari*; which is: Human flesh tastes like bear's meat. They, also say, that the hands are not good eating, they are *yożgarat*, bitter.' HECKEW. p. 37, note. Some French Canadians told the latter author, that he 'had frequently seen the Iroquois devour the bodies of men slain in the French war of 1756. Id. *ibid*. And, as a further confirmation, a passage is quoted from COLDEN; who informs us, that, in the treaty held at Philadelphia, in 1742, the absence of the Seneca chiefs was excused, because 'there was a famine in their country, and that a father had been obliged to kill two of his children, to preserve the lives of the remainder of the family.' App. p. 54. We can furnish two more testimonies from the same book. 'It is true,' says the author, 'the English were in great want of provisions at that time. The Indians ate the dead bodies of the French that they found.' Pt. i. p. 147. Upon another occasion, after having tortured an enemy, in all their modes of cruelty, 'they cut slices from his body to conclude the tragedy with a feast.' Pt. ii. p. 186. If it be cannibalism, to eat a piece of an enemy, in a transient fit of revenge, we do not think the act sufficiently monstrous to create so

Indian games are not numerous; and seem chiefly designed to render the combatants athletic and swift of foot. Some of the western tribes formerly had a play, which, for want of the appropriate name, we must call a *scramble*. A billet of wood, about eighteen inches long, made round, and polished very smooth, was sent to a great distance, by one of the chiefs: the younger lads of the tribe immediately started in pursuit of it: the fleetest runner was not always the stoutest wrestler: to get the billet was some merit; but to keep it, was a greater; and it was so slippery, that it changed hands, perhaps a thousand times, before the strongest proclaimed his victory.\*

But the most universal and most manly game, is that of ball. This is frequently played by several hundreds; and different tribes will sometimes much astonishment; and, if it is to devour human flesh, when there is nothing else to devour, some of our early settlers were as much cannibals as the Mohawks. What has rendered this practice so horrible an outrage to our own feelings, was the circumstance, that man could make the flesh of man, an article of his ordinary food;—that, in the language of Pitt, he could ‘roast and eat the mangled victims of his barbarous battles.’ The evidences, here adduced, by no means prove, that the Iroquois have eaten human flesh, except it was for the sake of revenge, or in cases of necessity. We place no reliance upon the new derivation of *Mohawk*. We have already seen another equally plausible; and, if, indeed, the Indians are to be pronounced cannibals, by making ‘to eat’ signify ‘to eat human flesh,’ we know not what etymologists may not demonstrate them to be.

\* Jov. Journ. Hist.



play against each other. The ball is made of deer-skin, stuffed with hair, and sewed with sinews. The sticks are from three to four feet long; and, being curved at the end, a web is made of thongs, for the purpose of catching the ball. The goals are two stakes, set in the ground, about six hundred yards apart. The ball is tossed into the air, at an equal distance from each; and the object is to throw it beyond the one, or the other. The parties enter upon the combat with great eagerness: the velocity of their movements is scarcely credible: the ball seldom touches the ground; but is seen constantly shooting into the air; and, while one is upon the point of hurling it in one direction, an antagonist strikes down his club,—catches the ball in his web, and sends it in another. ‘They play with so much vehemence,’ says a traveller, ‘that they frequently wound each other, and sometimes a bone is broken; but notwithstanding these accidents, there never appears to be any spite or wanton exertions of strength to affect them, nor do any disputes ever happen between the parties.’\*

No two authors can agree upon the subject of Indian languages. We have many formal theses upon the radical tongues. One makes this division; and another, that. Some, again, are of opinion, that they are rich, sonorous, and smooth: others tell us,

\* CARY, p. 365

that they are poor, guttural, and harsh. It seems perfectly idle to speculate upon languages, of which the grammatical construction has not yet been ascertained. We must know their parts of speech, and their rules of declension, conjugation, and syntax. The specimens, usually exhibited, appear to be mere strings of letters and syllables; and the progress, as yet made, in the analysis of these languages, is only enough to teach us, that they are still rude and irregular. They are encumbered with a multiplicity of consonants; and their modes of government and concord appear to be so few and imperfect, that the words lie together without much connection. In a civilized state, for example, *gachtingetsch* would lose four or five of its consonants;\* and instead of saying ‘God—I fear him,’ as the Delawares do,† we omit the superfluous pronoun, and say ‘I fear God.’ In the Lenape, again, there are no words to distinguish gender. The male of birds is called ‘man bird; and the female, ‘woman bird.’‡ Pronouns are used in the conjugation of verbs; but there seems to be no distinction of person, case, or number.§ So, there appears to be forms of expression, which answer to our moods and tenses; but we can discover nothing like a principle, upon which they are constituted.

\* HECKEW. p. 382.

† Ibid. p. 380.

‡ HECKEW. p. 368.

§ Ibid. pp. 378, 379.

Perhaps there is, among all nations, some one commodity, which will purchase every other; and *wampum* is said to be the money of the Indians.\* The beads, of which it is composed, are of two sorts,—the white, and the purple. The former are manufactured from the inside of great conchs, and strung upon thongs of leather. The latter are worked from the interior coating of the muscle shell; and woven into belts, about three inches broad, and two feet long. Each bead has its particular value; and, when a belt does not contain the requisite number, the balance is attached by a string.† *Wampum* is said to be the Iroquois for ‘a marine shell.’‡

The writers,§ who have hitherto speculated upon the decrease of the Indians, are prone to lay great stress upon the destructive operation of ardent spirits; attributing extravagant effects to what, in its immediate effects, is comparatively a trifling cause; and passing over those acknowledged principles, by which the population of every country must be regulated. The ravages of drunkenness must, we admit, be greater among the Indians than among ourselves; and for this extremely plain reason, that the practice is

\* GOLD. Introd. p. 3, note.

† HECKEW. p. 414.

‡ HECKEW. pp. 378, 379.

§ The substance of the remarks, which follow, have been previously published, in an anonymous form; but we will settle the account of plagiarism with the author.

more universal. But, if their disappearance is not the effect of something more radical than an attachment to strong drink, why are they running in a continual stream to the west,—abandoning the land of their forefathers, to live in hopeless temperance, beyond the reach of civilization?

According to the writers on political economy, the two great causes of all depopulation, are, *first*, a diminution in the quantity of that kind of provision, which has been customarily used; and, *secondly*, an increase in the expensiveness of living, occasioned by the introduction of more costly food. The Chinese, (if it be necessary to take examples,) subsist chiefly upon fish; and the Persians upon melons: but, should the fish no longer continue to swim in the rivers of China, or the melon be no longer able to extract nourishment from the soil of Persia, it is obvious, that the inhabitants of each of these countries must suffer a very serious numerical diminution. As the commonalty are by far the most numerous class of population, and as they are barely able to support themselves, by the ordinary supply of that kind of provision, to which they have been accustomed, the moment that such a supply is unattainable, the prospect of marriage is removed from their view; for, with few exceptions, it may be laid down as a truth, that no man will burden himself with the weight of a family, until he knows, that he shall be able to sustain it.



The same observations may be applied to the other division of the subject. Should any revolution in the manners of the Chinese, or of the Persians, make *animal* food a necessary constituent of their diet, a decrease of population would be the inevitable effect: for, although the supply of ordinary food may still continue to be afforded, yet flesh has become an article of domestic necessity; and no man will be likely to marry, unless he has a prospect of being able to support a family, in the use of this new species of sustenance. It is in vain to allege, that the old kind of diet is sufficient for all the purposes of actual necessity. The laws of fashion, though mutable, are imperious. ‘Men will not marry,’ says a philosopher, ‘to *sink* their place or condition in society, or to forego those indulgences, which their own habits, or what they observe among their equals, have rendered necessary to their satisfaction.’\* We have confined our view to the article of food; but it is evident, that the same reasoning is applicable to dress, to drink, to houses, to furniture, and, in short, to every thing connected with the economy of life.

If our present Indians are the same race with those described by the historian of De Soto, who is called ‘a faithful recorder of facts,’† they once derived their chief subsistence from vegetable food. Their planted

\* PALMY'S MOR. Philos. b. vi. ch. xi.

† BART. New Views, p. xlix.

fields were numerous and extensive; and they sometimes stored up maize, in such quantities, that the old was discarded to admit the new. When the English first invaded their territory, they were frequently despoiled of their stores; and, in the wars, which, in many different ways, were soon provoked between them and the new-comers, the latter could depend so little upon the enjoyment of their own crops, that they betook themselves, for the most part, to fish and game.\* Here was, not only an immense diminution of their ordinary food,—but a great increase in the expensiveness of living. Perhaps the labour expended in running down a single deer, would, if employed in tillage, be able to support one man for two months.

But this was not the termination of the evil.

\* A passage from the history of De Soto's expedition, will show how much they depended upon vegetable food, and what they probably suffered in the first stages of their change from agriculturalists to hunters. 'The Indians of Minoya, during the time that they were there, came to serue them, (being driven therevnto by necessity) that of the maiz that they had taken from them, they would bestow some crummes vpon them. And because the countrie was fertill, and the people vsed to feed of maiz, and the Christians had gotten all from them that they had, and the people were many, they were not able to sustain themselves. Those which came to the towne were so weake and feeble, that they had no flesh on their bones: and many came and died neere the towne for pure hunger and weakenesse. The gouernor commanded, vpon grievous punishment, to giue them no maiz. Yet, when they saw that the hogges wanted it not, and that they had yiclded themsclues to serue them, and considering their miserie and wretchedness, having pity of them, they gaue them part of the maiz which they had.' Pp. 154-5.

Hunted by the red men, and deprived of their coverts by the whites, the beasts soon began to fly from their old haunts. The Indians, thus gradually losing their last stay, had no other resource, than to sell parts of their grounds, to supply the absence of their ordinary food and clothing, by such as were used among the new-comers. Game continued to disappear: immense tracts were sold for trifling sums; and the few tribes, which remain on this side of the Mississippi, are at length penned up in reservations, which, for their animals, can scarcely be worth the possession. In this manner, they have lost their ordinary resource of subsistence; and, at the same time, have been obliged to adopt the more expensive diet, clothing, and furniture, of the whites.\*

Had they adopted all our modes of life, they might have still supported their numbers. But they adhered

\* When the Indians were selling the western half of Delaware, 'We are sensible,' said they, 'that the land is everlasting, and the few goods we receive for it are soon worn out and gone.' 'Besides, we are not well used with respect to the lands still unsold by us. Your people daily settle on these lands, and spoil our hunting.' *Colo. App.* p. 64. So, in another place, 'Our deer are killed,' say they, 'in such quantities, and our hunting countries grown less every day, by the settlement of white people, that game is now difficult to find, and we must go away in quest of it.' *Ibid.* p. 81. The same idea was always present to their minds. 'It is customary with us,' said the Onondaga chief, 'to make a present of skins, whenever we renew our treaties. We are ashamed to offer our brethren so few, but your horses and cows have eat the grass our deer used to feed on' *Ibid.* p. 64.

to their old habits, as long as they had any grounds to spare; and, when, at length, they had stripped themselves of nearly all, it was necessary to pass, by a single leap, from the savage to the civilized state. So sudden a change was impossible. The Indians were unable to understand our modes of agriculture: their numbers daily grew less, by deaths or emigration: few marriages took place to supply the vacuity: their spirits sunk: their pride was gone; and, instead of labouring to procure subsistence, they only exerted themselves to obtain what might purchase a dram, and make them forget their ruin. A part of the time they spent in senseless intoxication; and the lucid interlapse of sobriety was occupied only in mourning over the recollection of past importance, and trembling at the prospect of speedy annihilation. They become weak, idle, and improvident; and, destitute alike of ability and disposition to labour, they either sit down and welcome death, or quit their paternal seats for more congenial abodes.

Nearly all the land, which is now owned by the United States, or by the states separately, has been fairly purchased from the aborigines; and some of it has been purchased several times over. To civilized men, perfidy appears to be a leading trait in the character of the Indians; but they are certainly faithful, so far as their principles go; and perhaps it would be difficult to find the people, that can boast of doing



more. They consider no treaty as binding, unless it is begun and concluded, on their part, in the most unconstrained and voluntary manner. A lack of food, or a superiority of force, has often compelled them to treat of peace; and they never suppose such treaties obligatory, any longer than their new supplies continue, or their numbers appear too small. The whites have a different opinion; and questions of this kind can only be decided by arms.

But, while we are enforcing our rights, let us not forget our magnanimity. The Indians are not equal to us, in any respect; and, whatever may have been the justice of treating them with severity, while we were yet a cluster of feeble and distracted colonies, it is now our duty to take care of beings, who are no longer competent to take care of themselves. It is the genius of our government, to be humane; and cases have often occurred, in which it has voluntarily parted two nations, who would otherwise have exterminated each other.\* But the Indians seldom come within

\* M'AFF. Hist. West. War, p. 43. 'It was long since discovered, by the Indians themselves,' says a correspondent of the secretary at war, in a letter dated at Cincinnati, March 22, 1814, 'and but for the humane policy, which has been pursued by our government, the Delawares, Kickapoos, and Shawanoese, would long since have been out of our way. The country claimed by the Osages abounds with every thing that is desirable to a savage. The Indians of the tribes above mentioned have occasionally intruded upon them,—a war was the consequence, which would have given a sufficient opening for emigration. But our government interfered and obliged the hostile tribes to make peace.'

the sphere of its immediate influence. It is almost impossible to obtain true information, or disinterested advice; and the government is obliged to commit such affairs to its representatives, who do not always partake of its humanity. Hard bargains, and still harder treaties, are sometimes made with the aborigines. Such they have continued to fly from, or to violate: but it has seldom happened, we believe, that they have evaded a contract, or infringed a treaty, which was perfectly equitable on their side. In most of our negotiations, they have laboured under many disadvantages; and one of the greatest, is, their abject humility, when subdued by force. With the exception of a wolf, taken in the toils, there is scarcely any being so prostrate and spiritless as a conquered Indian. It is a part of their system to consider themselves as at the absolute disposal of the victor. They do not feel as if they could claim any rights: they propose nothing, and object to nothing; but submit, like things inanimate, to the dictation of their masters. They sign any thing, if it will only set them at liberty; and their conduct soon demonstrates, that the signature was made for no other purpose.

# THE UNITED STATES.

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## CHAPTER I.

Voyages of Columbus—of the Cabots—of L'Escarbot—Spirit of Discovery damped in England—Sir Humphrey Gilbert's two Voyages—Sir Walter Raleigh's Enterprises—Failure of his first Colony—of the Second—Bartholomew Gosnald's Expedition—First Settlement of Virginia under Newport, Gosnald, and Ratcliffe—Adventures of Captain John Smith—New Charter obtained—Expedition of Newport, Gates, and Somers—Administration of Lord Delawar—A third Charter obtained—Marriage of Pocahontas with Mr. Rolfe—Expedition against Port Royal—Administration of Mr. Yeardly—of Captain Argal—Female Emigrants—Tyranny of Governor Sir John Harvey—Moderation of his successor, Sir William Berkeley—Increase of the Colony during the Civil War—Settlement of Maryland—Prosecution of Clayborne—Revolutions in Maryland—Appointment of Governor Philip Calvert, by the Proprietor, Lord Baltimore—Population.

IT is stated, by the English historians, that, while Christopher Columbus was soliciting the Spanish court to embark in his project of discovery, Bartholomew was secretly despatched, to gain over their Henry VII.; but, being captured by pirates, on the way, he did not reach England, and obtain an audience, until his brother had already given the New World to Castile and Leon.\* Bartholomew, how-

\* See Note (A.) at the end of the volume.

ever, was very favourably received; and the English monarch, though superseded in the honour of the discovery, was resolved, at all events, to participate in the profits. Accordingly, in 1495, three years after the discovery of Columbus, he entered into a sort of fellowship with John Cabot and his three sons; commissioning them to seize, in his name, all the lands they could discover in the east, the north, or the west; but stipulating, that the voyage should be undertaken at their own expense, and that, of the trade, which they might drive with the inhabitants, they should return their royal partner his due fifth of the clear gains. This scheme was never carried into execution; but, three years afterwards, in May, 1498, the elder Cabot and his second son, Sebastian, set sail from Bristol, with one ship and four barks; intending, if practicable, to reach the East Indies, through the short passage pointed out by Columbus. They held nearly a due west course, till they discovered the new continent; and, after following the coast, from the fifty-sixth to the thirty-eighth degree of north latitude, they steered homeward again, to carry the unwelcome intelligence, that India was not to be attained in the west. It does not appear, that they ever landed: and it is only upon this cursory traverse of the coast, that the English primarily found their claim to the whole continent of North America.



The French have their claims, also, to the original discovery of this continent. L'Escarbot thinks, the fact is conclusively established, from the circumstance, that, when he visited America, in 1606, the language spoken at Newfoundland and the Great Bank was half Biscayan; and it seems, indeed, to be well established, that, more than a century before this, (in 1504,) the Biscayans frequented and fished, not only in these two places,—but in the whole Gulf of St. Lawrence. The latter fact, however, sufficiently explains the former; and, that the Biscayans visited these waters, in 1504, cannot certainly be admitted as conclusive proof of their having been there anterior to 1498. Of the two titles, therefore, that of England seems to be rather the best supported.

For a long time, however, after the discovery of Cabot, no pains were taken to corroborate this title. By a bull of the Pope, dated the 7th of May, 1493, Spain was alone to have all the lands which she had discovered, or should discover, to the west of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues westward of the Azores. Henry VII. was not celebrated for a contempt of papal authority; though, in this instance, his respect for the Roman pontiff was very powerfully seconded by his fear of the Spanish monarch. A negotiation was on foot, for the marriage of his eldest son to the princess Catharine; and

he was not likely, therefore, to cut himself short of the influence, which such a connexion would then have given him in Europe, by doing any thing to offend his brother Ferdinand. When we add to this, that Henry was naturally cautious, and that his empire was then peculiarly in need of his caution, we can hardly wonder at the neglect which Sebastian Cabot met with in England; and on account of which he was obliged to enter into the service of Spain.

During the reign of Philip and Mary, things took a different turn. A knowledge of the Spanish language and of Spanish history had become fashionable in England: the power of Spain was seen to be rapidly increasing, by the riches which she derived from America: men of rank and influence felt the spirit of colonization; and, under Elizabeth, the general disposition at length ripened into a project for the establishment of a new empire in the west. The execution was entrusted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert; who, on the 11th of June, 1578, obtained letters patent, containing full powers to settle all the lands, which he should discover, and to govern all the settlements, which he might make. The expedition sailed from England, and landed on the coast of Cape Breton; where, owing partly to the inadequacy of its supplies, —but chiefly to the inhospitableness of the climate and of the inhabitants, what little was done towards

a settlement soon came to a disastrous end. Sir Humphrey tried a second time; but lost his own life in the attempt; having done little more than to take solemn possession of Newfoundland in the name of the queen, and in the presence of some fishermen and merchants assembled for the purpose.

The disasters of Sir Humphrey Gilbert did not discourage his chivalrous half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh; who, on the 26th of March, 1584, obtained similar letters patent from Elizabeth; and, on the 27th of April, despatched captains Amidas and Barlow, with two small ships, in order to explore the coast, on which he intended to plant a colony. In avoiding the error of Gilbert, they ran into the opposite extreme, and steered too far to the south. On the 2d of July, they landed on an island in Pamplicoe Sound,—which they called Wokocon (Ocakoke), and which they found to be a complete vineyard of grapes. They visited what is now Roanoke; obtained some vague knowledge of the continent; spent some weeks in a profitable trade with the natives; and, taking two of them on board of the vessels, set sail again for England, and arrived there on the 15th of September. Their splendid accounts of the country so delighted Elizabeth, that she called it *Virginia*, in allusion to her own character; and they so much encouraged Sir Walter Raleigh, that, early in the spring of 1585, he

placed Sir Richard Grenville, a relation of his, at the head of an expedition, consisting of seven small ships, laden with all the requisites of colonization. Sir Richard touched at the islands discovered by Amidas and Barlow, in the latter end of June; made some excursions into the neighbouring continent; established a colony of one hundred and eight persons in the island of Roanoke; and, placing it under the government of Mr. Ralph Lane, embarked for England, on the 28th of August.

Instead of obtaining information about the country, or taking measures for their future subsistence, these colonists misspent their time in digging after gold; and, when Sir Francis Drake found them, on the 1st of June, 1586, they were at war with the aborigines, and reduced to the wretched necessity of depending for their support upon the woods and waters. Drake promised to leave them one hundred men, with a small vessel, and four months' provisions; but, before he could complete the arrangement, he was driven off by a violent storm; and, when he returned, the disheartened settlers resolved to go home with him to England. They started on the 19th of June; a few days after which, a small vessel, despatched by Raleigh, came to their relief; and, a little later still, three ships, with ample supplies, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. The latter left fifteen men,



with provisions for two years: but the Indians soon put them beyond the necessity of being so much beforehand. And thus terminated the second enterprise of the English to gain a footing in the New World.

But Sir Walter Raleigh was not so easily discouraged. He fitted out another expedition, under the command of captain John White; who, with twelve others, obtained a charter of incorporation, under the name of the ‘Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh, in Virginia.’ They started from England with three ships; and landed at Roanoke, about the close of July, 1587. Some women accompanied this colony; and, not long after their arrival, one Ananias Dare boasted of having the first Anglo-American child; which, in commemoration of her birth-place, was called *Virginia*. About the same time, also, one of the natives, taken over to England by Amidas and Barlow, was christened *Lord of Dessa Monpeake*; after a tribe of aborigines, who lived in the neighbourhood, and whose friendship the new settlers were desirous of conciliating. Governor White returned to England for additional supplies; but he found Sir Walter Raleigh exclusively occupied with arrangements to repel the *Invincible Armada*; and, though, early in 1588, Sir Richard Grenville was placed at the head of a small fleet, for the relief of the colony, the queen defeated the enterprise, by forbidding Sir

Richard to go out of Cornwall; nor was it till the 22d of April, that, amidst the general exigency of naval preparations, Mr. White could obtain two small barks to bring him back to America. Even the commanders of these could not cross the Atlantic, without seeking a quarrel with the Spaniards. They undertook to beat a superior force; were beaten themselves, and obliged to give over the voyage.

In 1589, Sir Walter Raleigh assigned his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants; who, in March, 1590, despatched three ships for the relief of the new colony. The voyage was turned into a cruise against the Spaniards; and the fleet did not reach Hatteras till as late as August. Not a vestige remained of the settlers, who had been left there three years before; and, though a party of nineteen men scoured the whole island of Roanoke, no traces of their residence or emigration could be found. Before the departure of Mr. White, it had been stipulated, that, if they should change their residence, the name of the place, to which they might remove, together with a cross, if they were in distress, should be carved upon some tree or post, about the spot, where they at first settled. The word, CROATAN, was found upon one of the chief posts; but, as the sign of distress was not over it, the newcomers were encouraged to hope, that their countrymen might still

be in existence. *Croatan* was an Indian town, on the north side of Cape Lookout: they set sail for it the next day; but, meeting with a storm, they returned to the West Indies; and when, or where, or how the colonists had perished, remains, to this day, undiscovered.

The English made no more essays at colonization, for twelve years; when Bartholomew Gosnald sailed from Falmouth, in a small bark, with thirty-two men; and, steering directly westward, touched America near the forty-third degree of north latitude, on the 11th of May, 1602. He sailed thence to the south, in quest of some good harbour; and, the next day, gave names to Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Elizabeth's Island. He traded some time with the natives; set sail again; and saw England in less than four months from the time of his first departure. The rapidity of his voyage, the temperateness of the climate, and the fertility of the islands, which he had discovered, were soon reported through England; and, although his countrymen, from having heard similar accounts, before, were so suspicious of his accuracy, as to despatch two ships, for the purpose of ascertaining the facts, they both returned with a full confirmation of all he had related.

A pretty extensive scheme of colonization was now set on foot. Richard Hackluyt, prebendary of

Westminster, is said to have been the chief promoter of the enterprise; though the petition for letters patent was headed with the name of Sir Thomas Gates. James I. was much pleased with the proposal: the great seal was put to the patent, on the 10th of April, 1606; and, while the petitioners were making preparation for the voyage, the king was gratifying his vanity with constructing a code of laws for their government. The chief provisions of the charter were,—that the colonists should have all the lands on the sea-coast of America, between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude; that they should be divided into two companies,—the first consisting of adventurers from London, and elsewhere, who were to establish themselves between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees of north latitude,—the second, of adventurers from Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and elsewhere, who were, in like manner, to settle between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude; that each company should be guided by a council of thirteen, among themselves, and a similar council, in England; that they might open mines and mint a currency,—being always sure to give the king one-fifth of the gold and silver, and one-fifteenth of the copper, which they should find; and that, finally, the president and council might apprehend all persons, who should attempt to force a settlement



within their territories, and compel them to pay a duty of two and a half per cent. *ad valorem*, if subjects, and five per cent. if foreigners. By the 20th of November, James had finished their code of laws; according to which the two colonies were to be under the general supervision of a council in England; to preach and practise the rites and doctrines of the English church; to make no laws which should be inconsonant to those of the mother country, or extend to the destruction of life or member; and, though, in fine, under the immediate government of their own president and council, to be ultimately subject to the crown of England. Before the expedition sailed, three sealed packets, containing the names of the council, were put respectively into the hands of Captains Newport, Gosnald, and Ratcliffe; who were not to break the seals, until they should reach America.

After all this preparation, the first division of the colony consisted of only one small vessel and two barks, with one hundred and five men. It was put under Captain Newport; who sailed from the Thames on the 19th of December, 1606; but, having taken the West Indian route, he did not reach America in four months; and, instead of landing at Roanoke, the place of his destination, he was driven by a storm into the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. In the latter end of April, 1607, he discovered Capes Henry and Charles:

and, on the 13th of May, he landed his colony on a beautiful peninsula, formed by a river, which the natives called Powhatan,—the peninsula of Jamestown, on James River. They immediately broke open the sealed packets, which contained the names of the council; and, on proceeding to choose a president, Mr. Wingfield was found to have the majority of votes. They were soon involved in a war with the Indians; who, though they annoyed the colonists considerably, by attacking them while at work, were generally dispersed by firing a gun, or letting loose a bull-dog. The other adventurers so much envied the courage and talents of Captain John Smith, that they not only imprisoned him, during the voyage, under the frivolous pretence of his having intended to make himself king of Virginia,—but would not suffer him to be one of the council, when, on opening the packets, they found his name among the rest. When it became necessary, also, that Newport should return to England, they proposed, with affected humanity, that Smith should go with him, and have his trial in his native country: but he demanded a hearing on the spot; was honourably acquitted; and took his seat among the council. Newport started about the 15th of June; leaving behind him, one bark, and about one hundred persons.

The number was soon abridged. Wasting with

improvidence the stores, which they already possessed, and careless to seek others, when those should be exhausted, each man became reduced to the daily allowance of only a pint of worm-eaten wheat and barley: the climate, at all times hot, was now humid; and, before the month of September, the colonists had buried one half of their number; among the rest Bartholomew Gosnald, whose good or ill fortune it was, to have originated and pushed forward the undertaking. These miseries were the natural parent of disorder. The colonists quarrelled with themselves; and, charging their president with having embezzled the choicest of their stores,—such as beef, bread, and brandy,—they drove him from the office, and put Ratcliffe in his place. But a sense of external danger soon quieted, in a measure, their internal dissensions. The exigency was such as naturally devolved all the real authority upon a man like Captain Smith; who erected a rude fort to keep off the natives; assisted his comrades in fabricating houses to shelter them from the weather; and, when it was the season for gathering Indian corn, put himself at the head of small parties, and, sometimes by presents, sometimes by force, continued to obtain an abundant share of the harvest. The influence, which he acquired by such conduct, drew upon him, of course, the enmity of the president and his fellow-counsellors; but he defeated all their

machinations; and continued to deserve the gratitude of his countrymen, by the address and courage, with which he defended them against their enemies, and kept them from starvation.

In an excursion to discover the head of Chicco-mini River, he was attacked by an overpowering force of Indians; and, while fighting and retreating before them, suddenly found himself plunged to his neck in a swamp, and could defend himself no longer. His captors, at first, intended to kill him outright; but he had presence of mind enough to amuse them with a pocket-compass; and, taking him for some being of a supernatural order, they finally resolved upon carrying him to the palace of their king. Powhatan, it seems, was not accessible to superstitious terror. He ordered, that Smith's head should be laid on a stone, and his brains beaten out with clubs; but, when they had got him arranged for the purpose, Pocahontas, the king's daughter, threw herself between him and the executioner; folded his head in her arms, and offered her own in its stead. Powhatan was so much affected with the circumstance, that he not only spared Smith's life,—but, after the requisite ceremonies, let him go back to Jamestown.\*

He had been absent seven weeks. He found the colony reduced to thirty-eight persons; and he returned

\* See Note (B).



just in season to prevent them from leaving the country. He dissuaded them from adopting so cowardly a measure; and the influence, which he had gained over the natives, enabled him to keep his comrades in provisions, till the arrival of a supply under Newport; who brought with him one hundred and twenty more individuals, and a quantity of agricultural tools. The exultation of the colonists carried them beyond all the bounds of discipline and precaution: an indiscriminate commerce was allowed with the Indians; and it was not long before they were cheated into the most revengeful animosity. About the same time, the discovery of some glittering dust, in a rivulet near Jamestown, excited a delirious thirst for gold; and, to use the spirited language of Mr. Stith, the historian of Virginia, ‘there was no thought, no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold.’ Newport’s two vessels returned, the one in the spring, the other on the 2d of June, 1608; and the first remittance ever made by an Anglo-American colony, consisted of one ship-load of cedar, and another of an earth, which, because it shined, the colonists vainly imagined to be gold.\*

Leaving his countrymen to rue the inevitable effects of their delusion, Captain Smith, with Doctor

\* See Note (C).

Russell and thirty men, undertook, in an open boat of three tons, to take a general survey of the Chesapeake. He started on the 2d of June; and, beginning at Cape Charles, explored every creek and inlet, on both sides of the bay, as far up as the mouth of Rapahannock river; where, for the want of provisions, he was reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise. He reached Jamestown on the 21st of July. The colony was in the utmost disorder: the last reinforcement were all sick; and the remainder were in open hostility with the governor. The accounts which Smith gave of his discoveries,—particularly the story, which he had of the Indians, that the Chesapeake communicated with the South Sea,—contributed to revive their spirits; and, after refusing an offer of the presidentship, and making arrangements to obtain more regular supplies, he left them again, on the 24th of the same month. He penetrated, this time, as far as the Susquehannah; and surveyed, with the most diligent attention, every part of the surrounding country. He returned on the 7th of September; and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the progress of subsequent discovery, his map of the countries adjacent to the bay continues still to be the ground-work of all others.

On the 10th of September, Smith was prevailed upon to accept the presidentship. Shortly after, New-

port arrived with another detachment of settlers; and, though he brought no provisions with them, the vigour and perseverance of the new president soon put the whole colony in the way of supplying themselves. In the mean time, the proprietors in England were endeavouring to make something of their enterprise, by obtaining a new charter, with more enlarged powers, and for a greater extent of territory. It was dated the 23d of May, 1609; and, under the title of ‘The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first Colony in Virginia,’ granted to the petitioners the absolute property of all the land, from sea to sea, lying between two parallel lines, drawn each at the distance of two hundred miles, north and south, from Point Comfort; together with all the islands, in both seas, which were situated within one hundred miles of the respective coasts. The colony was, in future, to be under the deputies of a council in England: Lord Delawar was appointed governor and captain-general, for life; and five hundred emigrants set sail, in nine ships, to carry the new project into execution. Powers had been severally given to Captain Newport, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir George Somers, to set aside the old government; but, as they could not settle the precedence between them, they all agreed to sail in the same ship; and perhaps it saved them some unpleasant altercation, that a

storm drove them on the island of Bermuda. The ship arrived in due season; consisting, according to Stith, of 'unruly sparks, poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, 'rakes, libertines, footmen'—of such persons, in short, as very soon demonstrated, that they 'were much 'fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth, than to help 'to raise or maintain one.' Smith had need of all his energy to keep them in any sort of order; and an accident soon occurred, which prevented even that energy from being long exerted. In returning from a detachment stationed at the falls of James River, his powder-bag took fire, while he was asleep; and the explosion wounded him so severely, that he was under the necessity of going to England for surgical aid. He started about the beginning of October; leaving with the colony, three ships and seven boats; commodities ready for trade; provisions for ten weeks; a horse and six mares; a large stock of hogs and poultry; some sheep and goats; agricultural utensils and fishing nets; one hundred well trained soldiers, twenty pieces of ordnance, and three hundred muskets.

The government now devolved upon Captain Percy; whose talents were never adequate to such a task; and whose energy a long course of sickness had by no means contributed to increase. Disorder ensued: the Indians invaded the settlement on all sides: the provisions of the colonists were soon exhausted:



and they were, at last, reduced to the necessity of feeding on the carcases, not only of their horses,—but of their enemies, and even of their own companions. The whole five hundred were, in six months, reduced to sixty; and, had not Newport arrived from Bermuda, on the 24th of May, 1610, these sixty could not have held out ten days longer. They unanimously determined to go home; and actually set sail in Newport's vessels; but they fortunately met Lord Delawar on the way; and, by means of his influence, were settled in Jamestown again, by the 10th of June. The whole colony now consisted of about two hundred; who, by the wisdom and the application of Lord Delawar, soon became prosperous and peaceful. But ill health obliged his lordship to sail for Nevis, in the West Indies, on the 28th of March, 1611: the reins of government again grew lax in the hands of Mr. Percy; and, when Sir Thomas Dale, the new governor, arrived, on the 10th of May, he was under the necessity of restoring order, by proclaiming martial law. Sir Thomas Dale was succeeded by Sir Thomas Gates; who arrived, in the beginning of August, with six ships, and a considerable addition of men and supplies.

As Bermuda was represented to be a very fertile island, the proprietors were anxious to get possession of it, as a place of supply; and accordingly, in March, 1612, they obtained a new charter, which, besides

remodelling some parts of their colonial polity, granted to the treasurer and company all the islands within three hundred leagues of the Atlantic sea-coast. They obtained twenty-nine thousand pounds, also, by the first lotteries ever licensed to be drawn in England. And, while these encouraging events were taking place in the mother country, a circumstance occurred in the colony, which was equally propitious to its concerns. In a voyage round the Potowmac, for a cargo of corn, Captain Argal learned, that Pocahontas had fled from her father, and lay concealed in his neighbourhood. He bribed her confidants; got her on board of his vessel; and carried her to Jamestown. Mr. Rolfe was captivated with her; she with Mr. Rolfe; and their marriage not only secured the stable and sincere friendship of King Powhatan,—but led to a treaty with the Chiccahominies, which ended in their becoming tributary to the English. About the same time, too, (1613,) Sir Thomas Dale augmented the industry of the colony about sevenfold, by giving to each individual the absolute property of three acres of ground, and suffering every one to work for himself, instead of all labouring in common.

Early in the year 1614, Sir Thomas Gates left the government in the hands of Sir Thomas Dale; who, along with Captain Argal, contrived and executed an enterprise, which, though almost unnoticed at the

time, was afterwards remembered with just indignation. By a series of persevering efforts, from 1535 to 1605, the French had succeeded in making establishments on the coast, near the river St. Croix, as well as on the more northern part of the Bay of Fundy. They had no idea, that the whole New World belonged to the English: it was in a time of profound peace; and, when Argal appeared before Port Royal, there was hardly the least appearance of defensive preparation. The French took shelter among the Indians; and Argal, after seizing a ship and bark, which had just arrived with supplies, left them to take quiet possession of their town again. The Dutch, too, it seems, had no business at New York: Captain Hudson first discovered it, in 1609; and Argal could not, therefore, return to Jamestown, without making the governor a tributary to Virginia.

In the year 1615, lots of fifty acres were laid off, and distributed among the colonists. And, about the same time, they began the cultivation of tobacco; which, in spite, or in consequence, of the strenuous opposition of the king, the parliament, and the company, soon grew into such general use, as to become the staple commodity of Virginia.\* In the spring of 1616, Sir Thomas Dale was obliged to leave the government in the hands of Mr. Yeardly; who, after

\* See Note (D).

exercising, or rather enjoying, the office for a year, was superseded by Captain Argal. *He* ruled the colony with a high hand. Martial law was kept up; the public office was turned to his private account; and, though he enacted some wise regulations,—such, among others, as that goods, at an advance of twenty-five per cent. should be exchanged for tobacco at three shillings the pound; and that there should be no private trading with the Indians, or teaching them the use of fire-arms; yet the general despotism of his administration was so loudly complained of, by the Virginians, that, on the death of Lord Delawar, Mr. Yeardly was nominated to the captain-generalship. He arrived in April, 1619; and, on the 19th of the following June, convoked an assembly of deputies from the several boroughs, into which the colony was now divided. They met, with the governor and council, in the same apartment; were very popular; and enacted many laws, which, it is said, were judiciously formed. They were called the house of burgesses; and the name was retained till America asserted her independence.

As very few females had heretofore adventured to the New World, those of the planters, who grew wealthy, were desirous of returning to England. The natural consequences of this very natural inclination were soon perceived; and, in 1620, ninety virgins,



and, in the following year, sixty more, were transported to the colony. They were eagerly sought after, by the young planters; and were all readily disposed of, at the rate of one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco a piece.\* About the same time, the company were ordered, by the king, to send among the colony the first convicts ever transported to America. They consisted of one hundred persons; and it was soon manifest, that, being removed from temptation to vice and disorder, they were going to form a considerable addition to the industry, no less than the number, of the settlement. But, about the same time, also, the abolition of a monopoly, which, till then, had been enjoyed by the company, was succeeded by such a competition for trade, and demand for labour, that an ill-fated Dutch ship imported from Africa, and sold in the colonies, twenty individuals of a different description, and perhaps, in the end, of very doubtful utility.

In July, 1621, the colony established a constitution; by which their legislative concerns were, in future, to be transacted by two supreme councils; the council of state, deputed by the company to advise the governor on executive subjects; and the general assembly, consisting of the governor, the councils, and the two burgesses from every town. The governor had a negative on the acts of the assembly; and nei-

\* See Note (E)

ther the general court, in England, nor the legislature, in the colony, could carry its ordinances into execution, without the mutual assent of each other. The population of the colony had, also, so much expanded itself, that it became inconvenient to try all causes at Jamestown; and justice was, therefore, rendered cheaper and more accessible, by establishing inferior courts at other suitable places. In addition to these signs of prosperity, the long opposition of the king to the importation of tobacco was, in a great measure, terminated, in 1622, by reducing all the former enormous charges to the single duty of nine pence in the pound.

But the prospect did not long remain bright. Powhatan died in 1618; and was succeeded by Opechancanough,—a chief, who was equally distinguished for the malignity, with which he could plan, and the capacity, with which he could execute, the most sanguinary designs. He continued to make a show of friendship: his people fed and lodged, as usual, among the white men; and, though the king was, all this time, conspiring the utter extirpation of the colony, and even borrowed their own boats, to cross the river and make his arrangements; yet the whole plot was covered over, from the beginning to the end, with the most artful dissimulation, and kept in the most profound secrecy. The 22d of the fatal month of March

was to be the day of execution. The Indians mixed with the settlers, as formerly; smiled and smiled, till the very instant of the appointed time; rose at once upon their victims; and, almost at the same moment, laid three hundred and forty-seven at their feet. The few that escaped, were indebted for their lives to one of the conspirators, who had been domesticated in the house of a Mr. Pace; and who disclosed the plot to that gentleman, in time to spread the alarm into the borders of Jamestown. This massacre was followed by a vindictive war of extermination: a famine ensued; and the number of settlements was, in no great length of time, reduced from eighty to eight. In the mean while, the company, at home, had grown so factious and imbecile, that, in April, 1623, the privy council ordered an inquisition into their affairs. The report attributed the slow progress of the settlement to the mal-administration of the company; and king James immediately acquainted them with his resolution of recalling their charter, and of putting the government into fewer hands. But, as they refused to give it up, he was obliged to try a writ of *quo warranto*; and it is almost needless to add, that, in June, 1624, the corporation was dissolved. They had expended one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and had sent over nine thousand persons:—their annual imports

were only twenty thousand pounds; and the numbers of their colony did not exceed eighteen hundred!

Even this remnant, however, was enabled almost entirely to exterminate the aboriginal tribes in their neighbourhood. In February, 1624, there was a session of the general assembly. Many wise and patriotic laws were enacted; and, among the rest, ‘that the governor should not impose any taxes on the colony, otherwise than by the authority of the general assembly; and that he should not withdraw the inhabitants from their private labour to any service of his own.’ But, as Virginia had now fallen into royal hands, James took an early occasion to supersede the powers of this assembly, by sending over a governor and twelve counsellors, with powers to superintend the whole legislative and executive concerns of the establishment. Charles I. his son and successor, carried the tyranny still farther. James had given to Virginia and the Somer Isles, a monopoly of the tobacco-trade: Charles took it to himself; and appointed special agents to receive and manage all the imports of that article. On the death of Sir George Yeardly, too, the governorship was given to Sir John Harvey; who exercised his office in so oppressive and cruel a manner, that, in 1636, the Virginians seized and sent him to England. Charles sent him back, early in 1637; and, had there not already existed sufficient misun-



derstanding between himself and his parliament, he would doubtless have continued him permanently in the office. He was set aside, however, by the appointment of Sir William Berkeley; a gentleman, who was every way calculated to please the colonists; and who could not have pleased them more than by showing, as he very soon did, that he was empowered to revive their general assembly.

The administration of Sir William made the Virginians incorrigibly loyal; and, accordingly, in October, 1650, when Cromwell had got the upper hand in England, they were chastised with an ordinance, which dissolved their government; deposed their governor; and interdicted all intercourse with foreign nations. In 1651, Sir George Ayscue arrived in the Chesapeake, to carry this measure into execution. Berkeley made a gallant resistance; and, though, at last, overpowered by numbers, he did not yield without stipulating for the indemnity of the colonists. As there was not, however, a market in England for all their produce, the interdiction of foreign commerce became so intolerably oppressive, that, on the sudden death of Governor Mathews, the settlers threw off their allegiance to the Commonwealth, and put the government again into the hands of Sir William Berkeley. Fortunately, the intelligence did not reach England till after the death of Cromwell; when

Charles II. was restored, it was, of course, a very meritorious act; and the Virginians long continued to boast of the fidelity, with which they had adhered to the royal cause. They were greatly stirred up and assisted, all this time, by the emigrant cavaliers; who, in consequence of the persecution, which they experienced at home, and of the facility, with which the dissolution of the old government enabled them to purchase land in the colony, came over to America in such numbers, that, between the commencement and termination of the civil war, the population of Virginia had increased, chiefly by them alone, from about twenty to about thirty thousand souls.

One of the most obnoxious occurrences, which took place, during Harvey's administration, was Charles the First's grant to Lord Baltimore, dated June, 1632, of 'that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkin's Point, on Chesapeake Bay, to the ocean, on the east; thence, to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated; thence'—in a word, Maryland. In November, of the same year, Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, made a settlement, at St. Mary's, with about two hundred gentlemen, consisting chiefly of Roman Catholics. The Virginians petitioned against the proprietor's grant, in July, 1633: the privy council turned both parties

over to the law; and the subject was never prosecuted any further. In February, 1634-5, the first Maryland assembly was convened. Their acts most probably displeased Lord Baltimore; who transmitted them, in turn, a code of laws, which were prepared by himself; and which were rejected by them, as soon as the assembly met, in January, 1637-8. During the same session, an act of attainder was passed against William Clayborne; who, in 1631, had obtained a grant from Charles, 'to traffic in those parts of America, for 'which there was already no patent granted for sole 'trade;' and who, as he had taken possession of Kent Island, near Annapolis, was determined to resist, in every way, the authority of the new comers. He was convicted of murder, piracy, and sedition; escaped justice by flight; petitioned the sovereign to interfere in his behalf; and, in 1639, had the mortification to hear the lords commissioners decide, that the lands in question were absolutely and solely the property of Lord Baltimore.

Maryland became the asylum of the Roman Catholics from Old England,—of those, whom puritanism drove out of New England, and of the Puritans, who, in retaliation, had been proscribed by the Virginians. The increase of population, from these and other sources, soon made it inconvenient for all the freemen to attend the legislature: and, in 1639, it was resolved,

that, for the future, there should be a council summoned, by special writ, and a house of burgesses, by general writ. The colony flourished; and there was the most perfect harmony between the proprietor and the people. But, as the government was attached to the royalists, Clayborne, who was of the republican side, found means, in the beginning of 1641, to excite an insurrection among the settlers. Calvert, their governor, was driven to Virginia; nor was it till August, 1642, that the revolt was suppressed, and the old government reinstated. The settlement began to prosper again; when, in September, 1651, commissioners were appointed by parliament, for ‘reducing and governing the colonies within the Bay of Chesapeake.’ The proprietor had submitted to the authority of parliament: the factions of the mother country extended their influence to the colonies: a civil war broke out; and Clayborne had his revenge, in the defeat of the governor and the Roman Catholics. The victorious party would tolerate no popery, or prelacy, or quakerism: peace was out of the question; and it was not until the English restoration, when Lord Baltimore appointed Philip Calvert governor, that any thing like order was re-established. The population of the colony was then computed at twelve thousand persons.



## CHAPTER II.

First Efforts of the Plymouth Company—New England settled by the Puritans—New Patent granted to the Plymouth Company—Endicot's Expedition—Charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay—Great Influx of Emigrants—Religious Intolerance of the Colonists—Ineffectual Efforts to stop it—Disputes with the French Colonies—Massachusetts divided into Two Religious Parties—A *Quo Warranto* issued against its Charter—Settlement of Rhode Island—And of Connecticut—Wars with the Piquods—Settlement of Maine—And of New Hampshire—Unwarrantable Claims of Massachusetts—Union of the New England Colonies against the Dutch and Indians—Dissensions in Massachusetts—Peace with the French Colonies—Effects of Religious Intolerance—Disputes between Massachusetts and Connecticut—Conspiracy of the Dutch and Indians—Foundation of Cambridge College—Rise of the Quakers.

THE first ship fitted out by the Plymouth Company, in 1606, was captured by the Spaniards. In the following year, however, Raleigh Gilbert set sail, with two other ships, and about one hundred persons; landed safely in America; and proceeded to build fort St. George, near the Sagahadoc. The severity of the winter carried off many of their numbers,—among the rest, Gilbert, their admiral, and George Popham, their president; and, in the spring, when they learned, by a vessel, which brought them supplies, that their patron.

Sir John Popham, was dead, they determined at once to abandon the country. Their terrific accounts of it, when they reached England, for a long time deterred the company from making any further attempts to colonize it. Some fur and fishing voyages were undertaken; one of which, in 1614, was under the command of Captain John Smith; who explored the country from Penobscot to Cape Cod; and presented Charles, prince of Wales, with such a flattering map of its coast, that he was induced to give it the name of *New England*.

The first effectual settlement of New England was almost entirely accidental. The obscure sect of the Brownists had been driven from England to Holland; where, for the want of persecution, they found themselves in danger of becoming utterly extinct; and, as the only means, therefore, of continuing their existence as a body, they resolved upon emigrating to America. In 1618, they petitioned the London company for a grant of lands, and their 'sovereign Lord King James' for a license to worship God in their own way. The former they were enabled to obtain; but, as the king had already established the English church in Virginia, he could not openly and expressly assent to the latter. He made a verbal promise, however, to overlook their nonconformity: the dilapidating state of their affairs necessitated them to take up with that;

and, in September, 1620, one hundred and twenty set sail from England, in a single ship. They intended to have settled on Hudson's River; but their Dutch pilot had been bribed by his countrymen to carry them somewhere else; and the first land they came in sight of, was what Gosnald had called Cape Cod. The coast was explored for a convenient place of settlement; and the colony landed at *New Plymouth*, on the 11th of November; after having entered into a solemn covenant to erect themselves into a body politic, and to frame a constitution of just and equal laws. They chose a governor; gave him one assistant immediately, and three more, in 1624. At first the supreme power was exercised by the whole body of freemen; but, in 1639, they constituted a house of assembly, and adopted the law of England as their general rule of conduct.

The season, in which they landed, was by no means favourable to their health: such a sect very naturally fell into the improvident scheme of labouring in common; and, before the return of spring, about fifty of their number were swept off by sickness and fatigue. The remainder were called away from their work, by the necessity of fighting the savages; and, had it not been for a pestilence, which swept off great numbers of their warriors, the history of this settlement would have ended here. But the Indians were soon reduced to

equitable terms. The insignificance of the colony secured them from the oppression of government ; and they struggled on, peacefully and unnoticed, till 1630 ; when, by a petition to the New Plymouth company, they changed their naked title of occupancy into that of a formal and substantial grant. They now amounted to no more than three hundred persons ; and it was not till their union with a younger and more powerful colony, at Boston, that they were considered as of much importance.

On the 3d of November, 1626, the original Plymouth company obtained from James a new patent ; which, under the title of the ‘ Council established at Plymouth, for planting and governing that country called New England,’ granted to the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and several others, the absolute property of the land lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude. Like the south and north Virginia colonies, they were empowered to exclude all persons whatsoever from trading and fishing within their boundaries ; but this provision so greatly exasperated the fur and fishing merchants, that parliament soon compelled the company to relinquish it. They, in turn, resolved to make no more efforts to increase or improve their settlement ; and New England would, for a long time, have remained unoccupied, had not the Puritans been vigorously persecuted in the mother country. They



came over, and settled, in small parties, about Massachusetts Bay,—so called from an Indian Sachem: in March, 1627, the council of Plymouth granted to Sir Henry Roswell and others, all the lands between lines drawn to the South Sea, from three miles north of Merrimack, and three miles south of Charles, River; and, in September of the same year, a number of planters and servants, under Endicot, laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town in the colony.

It was soon apparent, that, without more opulent partners, the settlement would never come to any thing. Such partners were easily found; but they would only embark in the enterprise, upon the condition, that the grant to the council of Plymouth should be confirmed by a royal charter. Such a charter was accordingly issued on the 4th of March, 1628. The name was changed to 'The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England:' the legislative power was to be exercised by the whole body of proprietors; the executive, by a governor, a deputy governor, and eighteen assistants; but, notwithstanding all the experience of Virginia with her councils in London, the supreme control was vested in a body of men three thousand miles distant from the scene of government. The scheme was promoted by granting two hundred acres of land, for the first dividend, to every person who subscribed fifty pounds: and, in

June, of the same year, two hundred emigrants, in five vessels, disembarked at Salem. The colony now amounted to three hundred persons; one-third of whom removed to Charlestown. As Brownism was the great end of the undertaking, the settlers proceeded to frame a system of polity conformable to its doctrines,—and to refuse all others that toleration, for which they had themselves been the zealous advocates. The ‘rising glories of the faithful’ were somewhat obscured by the loss of half their number, in the following winter; but the survivors were not disheartened; and the same cause which drove their brethren to perish, in a new and inhospitable world, continued to fill up the gaps, which their deaths had occasioned. The powers of government were, soon after, transferred to New England, at the instance of several opulent persons, who would emigrate on no other terms; and, in July, 1630, seventeen ships arrived at Salem, with fifteen hundred more persons; a part of whom laid the foundation of Boston. But an ordinance of the general court, passed early in 1630, which excluded all nonconformists from a participation in the only valuable privileges of freemen,—such, for instance, as the rights of suffrage,—and the intolerable persecution directed against every person, who did not live, according to the strictest principles of the sect, a Brownist,—induced Charles, on the 21st of

February, to issue an order for stopping all ships, that were ready to sail with passengers for New England. The order does not appear to have been rigidly executed: emigration went on apace; and, in 1634, the numbers of the colony had increased so greatly, that it became necessary to change their democratical meetings into a representative assembly. But such sturdy *independents*, both in religion and politics, soon attracted the wakeful jealousy of the English administration; who, in April, 1635, gave the archbishop of Canterbury the absolute power to re-model their constitutions; to support the clergy with tithes and oblations: to punish the refractory: to revoke charters, and depose governors; to pull down and raise up, in short, till the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the colony should be in a more loyal and catholic way. In June, of the same year, the council of Plymouth surrendered their charter to the king; having tried, in vain, to make him confirm them in the separate possession of their several portions of the country.

Nor was it in their internal relations alone, that the colonists now began to experience trouble. In 1603, Henry IV. of France had commissioned De Mont to colonize all that part of America, which lies between the fortieth and forty-sixth degrees of north latitude. The same territory was included in the grant of 1620 to the Plymouth company, by James I.; who.

as king of Scotland, also, had, in 1621, given to Sir William Alexander, the country which is now called Nova Scotia. Under these conflicting grants, actual settlements had been made,—by the French, as far as St. Croix, and by the English, as far as Penobscot. The respective colonies were, of course, drawn into the war, which soon after broke out, between France and England. The French possessions were subdued by Captain Kirk, in 1629; but restored to France, in the treaty of St. Germain; and the two colonies would probably have long remained at peace, had not a French party committed a robbery on the trading house, which the people of New Plymouth had established at Penobscot, in 1627. This outrage was followed by a more formidable assault, under Rossillon, in 1635; when the New Plymouth colony fitted out an expedition, under Girling, the commander of an English ship of war, in order to retake and maintain their invaded possessions. Girling expended all his ammunition, without effecting any thing: neither New Plymouth nor Massachusetts Bay could send him any supplies of importance; and the only beneficial result of the undertaking was, to make the two colonies see the necessity of keeping firmly united.

The Massachusetts settlement had the most to fear from divisions within itself. Mr. Henry Vane, son of Sir Henry Vane, one of the king's favourite privy



counsellors, landed in Boston, some time in 1635. With the age of twenty-five, he had the gravity of three score; and he so far outdid all others in religious mortification and puritanical enthusiasm, that, as we should anticipate, he was, soon after, unanimously appointed governor. Under his fostering administration, hardly any thing was done, but to attend public and private meetings,—stated and occasional lectures. All ranks were equally engaged in religious affairs; and, as the female sex were excluded from the private conferences, Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been flattered by the notice of Mr. Vane, concluded to set up for herself, and to institute a meeting of the sisters. By her persevering efforts, the colony was found to consist of two orders; one of which was under the *Covenant of Grace*, and the other, under the *Covenant of Works*. Herself, Governor Vane, the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and a few others, belonged to the former; Lieutenant-Governor Winthrop, and the crowd without name, to the latter; and the two parties contended against each other, till Mrs. Hutchinson was banished, and Mr. Vane quitted the country.

We have seen, before, how little King Charles I. was obeyed, in his attempt to prevent emigration. In 1637, he issued a second order, to the same effect: but the tide was too strong against him: crowds of discontents and puritans continued to seek the 'New

‘Jerusalem:’ even Pymm, Hampden, Hazlerig, and Cromwell were once embarked for the purpose; and perhaps it would have been well for the king, if he had made them an exception to his edict. The commissioners, ‘for the regulation and government of the ‘plantations,’ issued a *quo warranto* against the charter; but none of the corporation were served with it; and it was not until September, 1638, that an order of the privy council to send home their patent, brought the colonists to any thing like submission. They now prayed, that they might be ‘heard before condemnation, and that they might be suffered to live in the ‘wilderness;’ and, fortunately for them, the king and the commissioners began to have sufficient business, at home, to occupy the whole of their attention.

The same cause, which drove the settlers of Massachusetts from England, drove those of Rhode Island from Massachusetts. In 1634, Roger Williams, a popular preacher at Salem, was banished from the colony, for maintaining, among other ‘damnable heresies,’ that, so long as the peace of society is undisturbed, no man should be punished for a matter of conscience. He crossed the line of Massachusetts, with many of his disciples; and, in 1635, founded the town of Providence, on a tract of land, which he purchased of the Narraghansetts. This happened before the controversy about the two ‘Covenants;’ and,

when the Antinomian or Hutchinsonian party were overcome, their leader, with a train of disciples, followed the example of Williams, and made a settlement in his neighbourhood. Both colonies proclaimed the most unbounded toleration; both cultivated the friendship of the aborigines; and both soon grew so populous as to become, in turn, the parents of other colonies.

During the same year, in which Williams was banished, Mr. Hooker, with several others, applied to the general court for permission to seek a new place of settlement. They were, at first, refused; but, in the following year, the court gave them a commission to go where they pleased, provided, that, wheresoever they settled, they should still acknowledge the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. A few persons had already wintered in huts, on the west side of the Connecticut: about sixty others were added to the number, in the fall of 1635; and, in the following year, one hundred more, under Pynchon, Hooker, and Haynes, founded Hartford, Springfield, and Weathersfield. Roger Ludlow was intrusted, by the parent colony, with all their legislative and judicial concerns; though it was not pretended, that the new settlements were within the boundaries of Massachusetts. Indeed, they soon found themselves involved in a dispute about their title. The Dutch at Manhadoes claimed the country, by the

right of discovery; and a fort had been built at Saybrooke, by the direction of Lords Brooke, Say-and-Seal, and others, who were preparing a place of shelter from the inclemency of the times in England. The rights of the latter were bought up: the former were too feeble to maintain theirs by force; and the newcomers were, in a short time, left in the undisputed possession of their lands.

Undisputed, we mean, by any rival colony; for they soon had to contend with a much more formidable claimant than the Dutch of Manhadoes. The Piquod nation of Indians were so justly and so greatly alarmed at the encroachments of the settlers, that they even courted an alliance with their ancient enemies, the Narraghansetts; who, instead of acceding to the proposition, most impolitically communicated it to the Massachusetts colony, and agreed to join *them* in a war against the Piquods. Sarracus, therefore, the chief sachem of the latter, now found himself obliged to fight, single-handed, against the united forces of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Narraghansett. The Connecticut troops were soon in motion: those of Massachusetts had first to terminate a quarrel, among themselves, about the '*Covenants*;' and they did not reach the Piquod country, till the former had already reduced a very strong position at the head of Mystic River. Sarracus was posted



about eight miles off: it was resolved to follow up the advantage, which had been already gained: the Piquods were beaten in every engagement; and so vigorously, indeed, did their enemies prosecute the war, that before its termination, they ceased to exist as a people.

Immediately after peace was restored, the colony of New Haven was settled by Eaton and Davenport; who landed at Boston, in June, 1638; but determined to seek some other place, where the power and influence might be in their own hands. Their system of government, according to Dr. Stiles, was ‘one of the wisest ‘ever devised by man;’ the ‘embryo of a perfect republic;’ the ‘miniature’ of our present constitution. Each town took care of its own particular concerns; and, for the superintendence of the common interest, sent delegates to a general court, which exercised both the legislative and judicial powers of administration. The court was divided into two branches; the deputies, who composed the legislature, and were elected twice a year; and the magistrates, or the governor, deputy-governor, and two or three assistants, who formed the judiciary, and were chosen annually. As the settlement was headed by clergymen, it was natural to find some part for them to act. One of the ministers was, accordingly, appointed to deliver a sermon upon the day of election: but ‘it was originally ‘designed,’ says president Stiles, ‘that, however Moses

‘and Aaron should walk together in co-operative harmony, yet the ministers should not be eligible to the magistracy.’

Nor was it in the south of New England alone, that new colonies were rising up. After some ineffectual attempts to establish settlements at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and along the coast between the Merrimack and Sagadahock, a small colony, under Mr. Williams, sent over by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mr. John Mason, laid the foundation of Portsmouth, in 1632. When the members of the Plymouth company took each his separate share of New England, Mason and Gorges succeeded in obtaining grants for the two countries, respectively, which we now call New Hampshire and Maine. In 1639, Sir Ferdinando obtained a patent, with the most ample powers of control over his own district: he formed a code of laws for its government; but no system of laws could arrest its progress to utter insignificance; and the only way in which it preserved any existence at all, was, by surrendering itself to Massachusetts, in the course of 1651 and 1652.

The colony of New Hampshire succeeded but little better; till a number of Antinomians followed thither their banished minister, Mr. Wheelright, a brother-in-law of Mrs. Hutchinson. Exeter was founded by them, in 1637; and Dover, by a few persons

from England, in 1640. The two settlements were soon violently embroiled in the dispute about *Covenants*: words were, at length, exchanged for more substantial weapons; and, as the weaker party readily discovered, that their antagonists were getting the better of the argument, they sent to Portsmouth for Mr. Williams; who came to their aid with a small military force, and speedily settled the question, by the complete discomfiture of the Antinomians.

Massachusetts, in the mean time, was fast becoming rich and populous. From the time of its first settlement, to the year 1639, it was computed, that twenty-one thousand two hundred emigrants had landed on its shores; and, although all new-comers were straightway involved in the religious quarrels, which distracted the colony; yet they found time and motives enough to supply the perpetual demand for agricultural produce, which was kept up by the successive bodies of settlers,—and to obtain from England what manufactured articles they stood in need of, by their trade in fish, fur, and lumber. These prosperous circumstances naturally made the colonies anxious to ascertain and define their real boundaries. It naturally led them, also, to hold the land in higher estimation than they had formerly done; and, when they came to construe that part of their charter, which directs the northern line to be drawn three miles north of the

Merrimack, they made it include the whole of New Hampshire, and a part of Maine, by running it eastward, at the distance of three miles from the head of that river. We have already seen, that Maine acceded to the claim; and have only to add, that New Hampshire surrendered in like manner, in October, 1641.

The times could not long continue so prosperous. The success of the republican cause, in England, put a stop to that influx of puritan emigration, which had so much contributed to promote the agriculture of the colony; and, indeed, the demand was so greatly and so suddenly lessened, that a milch-cow, for example, which would formerly have sold for twenty-five or thirty pounds, would not now bring more than from five to six. This change of circumstances but poorly fitted the colonists for carrying on a war; and yet, in May, 1643, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, were obliged to form an offensive and defensive union against the neighbouring Indians, and the Dutch at Manhadoes. The chief articles of the confederacy were,—that each colony should retain its separate jurisdiction; that the expence of all wars should be borne proportionally by the whole; that each should furnish its quota of troops, on notice of invasion by three magistrates,—Massachusetts one hundred, and the three others, forty-five a piece; and that two commissioners should meet, on



the first Monday of every September; choose themselves a president, and proceed to the enactment of such laws as should relate to the general concerns of the union. Rhode Island was not originally admitted as a member: her petition to be received was rejected, in 1648; and she had no other way of securing herself against the hostility of the Indians, than that of assiduously courting their friendship. In 1644, she obtained from the Narraghansetts a formal surrender of the country; and, in May, 1647, constituted a system of government like those of the other colonies.

When Mr. Hooker applied to the general court of Massachusetts, for permission to establish himself and his friends on Connecticut River, a circumstance occurred, in the vote upon the question, which led to the separation of the different branches of the government. A majority of the assistants voted against the petition; a majority of the representatives, for it; and, as neither party would yield to the other, a day of humiliation and prayer was appointed; nor was it till the opening of the next session, that a sermon by Mr. Cotton induced the representatives to relinquish the point for the present. The dispute was revived, in 1643: when it was agreed, that the future deliberations of the two bodies should be held in separate chambers. But their controversies did not stop here. The representatives disliked the exclusive power of the ma-

gistrates, during the recess; and they sent up a bill, for adding some of their own number to the commission. The bill was rejected: they requested the magistrates to suspend their authority till the next session: the request was refused: ‘Then,’ said the speaker, ‘you will not be obeyed;’ and thus the assembly was dissolved. But, at the next session, the ministers of the gospel decided—and the deputies thought it a sin to contradict the decision,—that the governor, deputy-governor, and assistants, were alone invested with the executive part of the administration.

Both parties only ceased to quarrel with each other, to involve themselves in the quarrel of the English parliament. They were, of course, in favour of the commons; who, in March, 1642, exempted the colonies, till further orders, from the payment of duties or other customs; and they, in return, passed an ordinance, some time in 1644, by which the royal cause was effectually prevented from gaining ground in the commonwealth. So bigotted were they, indeed, in the cause of puritanism and democracy, that, when, in 1643, the Earl of Warwick was vested, by parliament, with the absolute and sovereign control over all New England, their dislike of the measure was not manifested even in a petition or remonstrance. In 1644, however, some amends were made, by renewing the exemption from taxes, till the two houses should

otherwise direct; and, two years afterwards, the remuneration was made still more complete, by exempting the colonies, during three years, from every tallage, except the excise. As fortune, also, seemed to be once more on their side, the controversy with the French colonies was terminated in a treaty of peace, dated in October, 1644.

External peace was followed, as usual, by internal dissension. Several very respectable characters,—who, according to the original principle of the colonial government, had been excluded from the common rights of men, because they did not belong to the established church,—laid a petition before the general court; praying, that, as they were not permitted to enjoy the privileges, so they might be released from the burthens, of civil society. This was a new thing under the sun: the petitioners were, by no means, sparing of censure upon the proceedings of the colony; and it was deemed proper, that they should be brought before the bar of the general court. Securities for their good behaviour were required: they would not give them: the court fined them discretionally: they claimed an appeal; were refused; and had, finally, to seek redress, by sending deputies to parliament. Mr. Cotton predicted in the pulpit, ‘that if any should  
‘carry writings or complaints against the people of  
‘God, in that country, to England, it should be as

‘Jonas in the ship.’ The sailors had heard of the prophecy; and, as it was next to impossible, that a voyage of three thousand miles should be performed, without some boisterous weather, they pretty soon had an opportunity of casting the ill-fated credentials into the sea. Thomas Wild, Hugh Peters, and William Hibbins, the three fit agents of the colony, had learned the nature of the expedition; and, when the deputies of the malcontents arrived in England, they found parliament in no mood for listening to their representations.

About the same time, Mr. Winthrop, a very worthy magistrate, was charged with tyrannical conduct, in the execution of his official duties. He defended himself at the bar; obtained an honourable acquittal; and was ever after, during his life, chosen governor of the colony. But the most important event of this period, was the settlement of a dispute between Massachusetts and Connecticut, concerning a tax, which the latter had imposed upon the inhabitants of Springfield, for keeping the fort at Saybrooke in repair. The parties were heard before the commissioners of the union, in 1646. Massachusetts insisted, that Connecticut had no right to tax another colony; Connecticut answered, that the fort at Saybrooke, as it protected the whole river, was as advantageous to Springfield as to itself: Massachusetts denied, that it



could resist a vessel of force; and the commissioners adjourned the meeting, without deciding which was in the right. They convened again, in 1648; and, without coming to any final determination, recommended, that a line should be run, in order to ascertain whether Springfield was, in fact, a part of Massachusetts. The deputies of that colony immediately produced an ordinance of their general court; by which their collectors were directed to exact a duty upon all goods, exported or imported by Plymouth, Connecticut, or New Haven. The three latter recommended Massachusetts to consider, whether this proceeding were conformable to the 'law of love;' begging, at the same time, that they might have no 'further agitations about Springfield.' Fort Saybrooke, in the mean while, was consumed by fire; and, as Connecticut took no pains to rebuild it, Massachusetts terminated the controversy, in 1649, by repealing the offensive ordinance of taxation.

The English administration were so exclusively occupied with domestic affairs, that they had no time to make their distant possessions feel the ties of dependence. The united colonies acted very much as they pleased. They had traded freely with all the world; had made peace with the French in Canada, and with the Dutch at Manhadoes; and, when, in 1651, the parliament called on Massachusetts to

accept a new patent, and to carry on all proceedings in its name, the colony professed the most entire submission to parliament,—and paid no farther regard to its demands. In the war, too, between England and Holland, the colonists did not think themselves bound to fall upon the Dutch at Manhadoes; and, had not the latter been detected in a conspiracy with the Indians, for the extirpation of their neighbours, there would probably have been no rupture of the peace, which already subsisted between them. When the existence of this conspiracy was proved to the satisfaction of the elders, a majority of the commissioners declared for immediate war; but the general court of Massachusetts refused to be bound by the vote; and the two colonies, which were the most in danger, Connecticut and New Haven, were obliged to send over an application to the Protector Cromwell. He promptly despatched a small naval and military force; and, at the same time, sent a recommendation to Massachusetts, that she should lend her assistance. This advice was not to be slighted. The general court authorized the officers of Cromwell to raise five hundred volunteers within their dominions: Connecticut and New Haven were busy with preparation; and, perhaps, nothing but the peace of 1654 could have saved the Dutch colony from total annihilation. The troops already raised were now turned against the

French possessions; which very promptly surrendered; and, though redemanded at the treaty of Westminster, were left to the result of future discussion; and were soon after granted, for ever, to St. Etienne, Crown, and Temple.

It was during the protectorate, that the colony of Massachusetts saw its most prosperous days. Its exemption from all commercial duties could not but cause it to grow rich: riches naturally introduced the refinements of more polished society; and, among the other beneficial results, four hundred pounds were bestowed by the general court, upon a public school at Newtown, (now Cambridge,) so early as 1636. The endowment was soon after greatly increased by Mr. John Harvard; in 1642, the school was exalted to a college; and, in 1650, obtained a charter of incorporation. For these, and for a variety of other acts, the colony is entitled to our warmest praise; though, at the same time, there was such a spirit of canting and intolerant bigotry in all they did, that our praise must be taken with many grains of qualification. Their conduct towards other sects appears the more unpardonable, because it was an apostacy from their former professions, and added impolicy to intolerance. They punished others for exercising those religious rights, which they so strenuously asserted in the mother country; and were so weak as to suppose, that

new denominations of Christians might be kept down, by the scourge and the gallows. The event proved how little they knew of human nature, and how little they had learnt from experience. The quakers grew under their auspices, and were established by their persecutions.

Indeed, it is chiefly to religious intolerance that we must attribute the comparative rapidity, with which New England was colonized. Its first planters were bigots and enthusiasts. Every individual was more or less occupied with religious topics; and, as it was impossible, that all should think alike, different persons frequently hit upon principles, or found authorities in Scripture, which militated against the general doctrines of the sect. An attempt to suppress such principles, or to controvert these authorities, was considered as an infringement of that religious liberty, which they had all quitted their native country to enjoy. The disputant grew stubborn by opposition; was denounced as a heretic; and, gaining followers as a persecuted man, became the leader of a new sect, and, like the parent colony, departed, to exercise freedom of conscience in another land. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were thus settled; and, no sooner had they become somewhat numerous, than intolerance produced new sects, and new sects founded new settlements. Many



of the towns in Connecticut were settled in this manner; and some could not have been settled in any other.

Nothing but motives of religious enthusiasm could have induced these successive swarms to bear the hardships, which they were compelled to undergo. Placed in the midst of the hostile aborigines, they durst not sow their fields, for they knew not, that they should reap the harvest; and, such were the famines, which sometimes occurred, that they were reduced almost to a state of nature, and obliged to subsist upon acorns. The Indians were paid for their lands; but, as soon as the purchase-money was gone, they violated their treaties; and, knowing themselves to be the strongest party, continued to exact contributions, make and break treaties, until the settlers grew powerful enough to defend themselves, and, at last, to extirpate their enemies. Sectarian fanaticism was able to keep up those settlements, which the mere hopes of gain would never have continued; and it is worthy of remark, that, though Virginia was founded more than a dozen years before New England, the population of the latter, in 1673, was three times as great as that of the former.

## CHAPTER III.

Different Effects of the Restoration upon New England and Virginia—Disputes between Massachusetts and New Haven—Disloyal Proceedings in Massachusetts—Effects of the Navigation-Act—Grant of the Duke of York—Appointment of Commissioners to govern the Colonies—Expedition against Manhadoes—Disputes between the Commissioners and Massachusetts—Carolina settled—Locke's Constitution—Internal Dissensions in Carolina—Poverty of that Colony—Bacon's Insurrection in Virginia—Change in her Judiciary—Population and Military Force—Population and Military Force of New England—War with Philip—Boundary settled between Massachusetts and New Hampshire—The latter erected into a Royal Government—A *Quo Warranto* issued against the Charter of Massachusetts—Project of Consolidating the Colony—Dissensions in New York—Disputes between that Colony and New Jersey—Overthrow of the Royal Government in New York—Settlement of Pennsylvania—New Charter for Massachusetts—Restoration of the Royal Government in New York—War with the French and Indians—Fort Pamaquid built—Comparative Force of the Colonies in 1695—War with Canada—With the Spanish Colonies—Between Carolina and the Indians—Dissensions in New York—Boundary settled between Massachusetts and Connecticut—Yale College.

AS it cannot have been forgotten, that Virginia took part with the royalists, during the civil war in England,—and as we have just seen how zealously New England espoused the other side of the quarrel,—it scarcely needs to be added, that the restoration of Charles II. was attended with very different consequences to these respective portions of his empire.

The five per cent. duty was extended to the latter: the navigation act was revived: all English commerce was to be carried on by English seamen, in English ships; and, under the title of *Enumerated Commodities*, all sugar, tobacco, ginger, fustic, or other dye-woods, indigo, cotton, and, afterwards, rice, molasses, and copper ore, were to be transported from the respective countries of production, directly to some place belonging to the crown of England. Virginia was, of course, subjected to these restrictions: but she was compensated, in a measure, by obtaining a monopoly of the tobacco-trade; and the king showed her still further marks of his favour, by re-appointing Sir William Berkeley to the governorship, and by proclaiming a general pardon to all those, who had been misled into the opposition of his cause.

On the other hand, however, his majesty demanded a repeal of all the offensive acts, which had been passed during the late rebellion; and it was in March, 1661, that the assembly met, for the purpose of expunging ‘all’ that were ‘unnecessary;’ ‘and chiefly ‘such as might keep in memory their forced deviation ‘from his majesty’s obedience.’ Some other necessary legislative business was transacted: an ineffectual attempt was made to encourage the growth of silk; but the only act of much consequence, was that of imposing duties, for the first time, upon the exporta-

tion of tobacco. In Maryland, nothing took place, worthy of particular mention. Rhode Island promptly acknowledged King Charles II.; and, in July, 1683, obtained, in return, a charter of incorporation; which placed the 'Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence' upon the same footing with the other English colonies. Connecticut manifested neither joy, nor sorrow; but, in April, 1662, Mr. Winthrop, who had been delegated to govern it, obtained a charter, similar to that of Rhode Island and of the other colonies.

The boundaries, as defined in this charter, were very nearly those of the present state; and it could hardly have been expected, therefore, that New Haven, which was an independent colony, would quietly submit to its authority. She adhered, with determined perseverance, to her right of separate government; and Mr. Winthrop was induced to promise, that a junction should not take place, without her consent: but the assembly proceeded to exercise the 'unbrotherly and unrighteous' powers of jurisdiction over her towns; and she was, at last, under the necessity of laying her case before the commissioners of the united colonies. They decided in favour of New Haven: Connecticut paid no regard to the decision; and both parties were proceeding to very serious extremes,—when the news of the king's grant of



Manhadoes to the Duke of York, and of the appointment of commissioners for the settlement of colonial disputes, first suspended, and finally extinguished the quarrel. The commissioners of the colonies, as well as those of the crown, were now in favour of the union; and, after a long process of negotiation, the compact was at last established; and representatives sent from both provinces to the general assembly.

As the news of Charles the Second's restoration was somewhat equivocal, Massachusetts not only took no measures to recognise his authority,—but demonstrated very clearly, that she was opposed to his cause, by giving an affectionate welcome to Goffe and Whalley, two of the judges, who signed the death-warrant of his father.\* In October, 1660, indeed, an address to the king was moved; but, as England was yet unsettled, the general court thought fit to decline the measure; and the only remarkable occurrence of the session, was the proscription of a book, entitled *The Christian Commonwealth*, which they found ‘full of seditious principles.’ On the 30th of November, however, a ship from Bristol brought positive intelligence of the restoration. The address could be no longer postponed; but, in the quaint instrument, which they indited for the occasion, very good care was taken to mix up, with their expressions of loyalty, an

\* See Note (E).

abundance of cant phrases concerning the preservation of their own civil and religious liberty. Reports were soon after abroad, that their commerce with Virginia was to be interdicted; and that three frigates were bringing over a governor general for all the colonies. The sincere disposition of Massachusetts was soon manifest, in a series of solemn resolves,—that her patent was her constitution; that it empowered the governor and company to make freemen; that the freemen have a right to choose the officers of government; and that, saving the laws of England, this government is alone invested with the legislative and executive powers of the colony. ‘As in duty bound,’ they did, indeed, ‘own and acknowledge’ the king; but, to show how little cordiality there was in the acknowledgment, all disorderly behaviour, and drinking of his majesty’s health, was strictly prohibited. These proceedings did not fail to reach the ears of the king; and so diligent were the enemies of the colony in exaggerating her disloyalty, that the general court was, at length, under the necessity of sending over agents, to remove unfavourable impressions, and to obtain a confirmation of their charter. Their prayer was, indeed, granted; but the agents returned with a letter, which required an almost total revolution in their church and state. The agents were treated with contempt; and the requisitions very little attended to.

In 1663, England drew the finishing stroke to her commercial monopoly, by enacting, that no European commodity should be transported to her distant possessions, without having first touched at her own shores, and without being on board of English ships, manned with English sailors. There were some unimportant exceptions; and the measure was partially counterbalanced, by enforcing the prohibition to cultivate tobacco in England, and by laying duties upon all salt and fish, imported by foreigners. New England paid little regard to these restrictions; and they very soon soured the good humour, which Virginia had displayed at the restoration of the king. The dissatisfaction of the latter colony was greatly increased, by the continual fall in the price of tobacco. Several acts were made, to arrest its progress, or to remedy its effects; but their framers showed very little knowledge of political economy, or of human nature, when they undertook to do the one, by prohibiting, for a time, the culture of tobacco at all,—or to effect the other, by giving a priority of payment to those debts, which were contracted in the colony. They forgot, that tobacco might be raised in other places besides Virginia; that the prohibition of its culture there, would only shut the mouths of one set of complainants, to open those of another; and that foreigners must soon cease to trade

with a colony, which could thus deliberately resolve to cheat them out of their debts.

It was in March, 1664, that the king granted to the Duke of York an indefinite extent of territory, including, besides Manhadoes, the whole of New Jersey, and a great part of the present states of Connecticut and New York, as well as the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Colonel Nichols, and four commissioners, sailed in four frigates, to take possession of the territory; and to assume a general power of superintending all the civil, criminal, and military affairs of New England. When the news reached this country, Massachusetts set apart a day for fasting and prayer; and appointed a committee to repair on board of the ships, as soon as they should arrive, and request the commanders to let but a few men go on shore at a time, and to give them particular caution against doing any thing disorderly or offensive. Colonel Nichols, and the other commissioners, landed in July, and proceeded to lay before the council a letter from the king; which required, that prompt assistance should be given to the project of subduing New Netherlands. The general court resolved to 'bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty;' to 'adhere to their patent, so dearly obtained, and so long enjoyed, by undoubted right in the sight of God and man;'—and to raise two hundred soldiers. Nichols



proceeded immediately to Manhadoes; and the surrender of the Dutch governor rendered the co-operation of the Massachusetts troops unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the submission, which the Dutch had paid to Captain Argal, in 1614, they returned to their former allegiance in the following year. In 1621, the states general granted their lands to the West India company; who built fort Nassau, on the east side of Delaware Bay,—and fort Good Hope, on the west side of Connecticut, or, as they called it, Fresh River. The encroachments of New England obliged the Dutch to look to the south. Fort Casimir (Newcastle), on the Delaware, was built in 1651; captured, soon after, by the Swedes; and retaken, along with the Swedish town of Christiana, in 1655. In the following year, the Dutch made a settlement at Henlopen. Lord Baltimore sent an order for its removal: the order was disregarded; and the intruders held possession, till the place was conquered by Nichols. When the latter gentleman first appeared before New Amsterdam, Governor Stuyvesant was determined to hold out against him; but, as his people chose the promise of the English king's protection, in preference to that, which he was likely to afford them, he, at last, found himself obliged to subscribe a capitulation. The town was thenceforward called New York; and the island, York Island. Mr. Carteret subdued fort Orange

(Albany), on the 24th of September, 1664; and Sir Robert Carr had conquered the country on the Delaware, by about the first of October. Nichols took possession of the whole territory; but, in November, 1665, he surrendered what is now New Jersey to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret; who had obtained a conveyance from the Duke of York, as early as June, 1664.

After the conquest of New Netherlands, the commissioners proceeded to exercise their powers of control over the provinces of New England. In Plymouth and Rhode Island, they met with no opposition: but the people of Massachusetts considered them as legalized usurpers of authority, and drew up an earnest and energetic address to their master; ending with this remarkable sentence:—‘Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our religious enjoyments live, so shall we all have further cause to say, from our hearts, let the king live for ever.’ The correspondence between the general court and the commissioners began in April, 1665. It soon degenerated into altercation; and, when the commissioners had vainly exhausted their patience, in reasoning and menace, they thought of bringing the subject to a close, by summoning the governor and company before them. The general court announced their disapprobation of the step, by the sound of the

trumpet; and they solemnly declared, that their duty to God and his majesty forbade them to countenance such tyrannical proceedings. It was easy to see, that submission, here, was out of the question; and the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine; where they established the claims of Mason and Gorges, and put the country under a system of royal government. The general court of Massachusetts protested, that these transactions tended to disturb the public peace; and, though the commissioners refused all conference on the subject, New Hampshire and Maine were soon afterwards brought again under the protection of their old mistress. When Charles heard of these things, he ordered, that agents should be sent to England by the general court, to explain and clear up their conduct. They first doubted the authenticity, and never complied with the requisitions, of the letter.

In the mean time, new colonies were rising up in the south. As early as 1514, Ponce de Leon, a Spanish navigator, gave the name of Florida to the northern coast of the Mexican Gulf; and the whole continent was thence called Florida, till Elizabeth bestowed upon it the title of Virginia. In 1523-4-5, the coast was accurately explored by Varazan, an Italian: in 1562, a French colony, under one Ribaud, built fort Charles, on the Edisto: and, two years af-

terwards, a more numerous body of emigrants, under one Laudoniere, made a settlement on May, now St. Matheo River. The emigrants were all massacred by the Spanish; and, though they were revenged by Chevalier Gourgues, no permanent settlement was ever effectuated. Fifteen years afterwards, Sir Walter Raleigh commenced his abortive attempts at colonization; and, in 1630, Sir Robert Heath obtained a grant of the country; but never carried it into execution. Some emigrants from Massachusetts had settled about Cape Fear; but it was not until 1663,—when the land from the River St. Matheo to the 36th degree of north latitude, was, under the name of Carolina, granted in absolute property to Lord Clarendon, and a number of others,—that any effectual steps were taken towards a permanent colony. The proprietors immediately adopted measures to encourage emigration; establishing a constitution, by which the governor was to be chosen by thirteen electors, nominated by the people; proclaiming the utmost toleration of religion; and allowing every freeman one hundred, and every servant fifty, acres of land, at the trifling rate of half a penny the acre.

A settlement, which had been made by some Virginians, around Albemarle Sound, was put under the supervision of Sir William Berkeley; who was empowered to make grants of land, and to appoint a go-



vernor and council. The proprietors next proceeded to erect the territory, extending from Cape Fear to St. Matheo River, into a county under the name of Clarendon; which, in 1665, was put under the government of Mr. John Yeamans, an emigrant from Barbadoes. Another settlement was made south of Cape Romain; and, in June, the company obtained a new charter; which comprehended all the land extending north-eastward to Carahtuke Inlet; thence to Wyonok, in  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude; south-westward to the twentieth parallel; and from the Atlantic to the South Sea. The inhabitants of Albemarle cultivated Indian corn and tobacco: they received their supplies from New England; and, in order to encourage emigration, their legislature enacted, that, for five years, no person should be sued for a debt contracted abroad.

But they were destined, soon after, to receive a system of laws from a more exalted source. The proprietors applied to Mr. Locke; who, because he was an acute and profound reasoner, both in abstract politics and in metaphysics, would, they imagined, be able to frame an admirable body of practical constitutions. The outlines of his system were these:—One of the proprietors, chosen palatine for life, was to be the president of a palatine court, composed of all those, who were entrusted with the execution of the charter: and, for the nobility, there was to be a set

of landgraves and caciques; the former having, each four hereditary baronies, of four thousand acres each; the latter, half of the number, of half the extent. These, with the proprietors, or their deputies, and the representatives of the freeholders, were to constitute a parliament, and to vote, as a single body, in the same apartment. All bills were to originate, and to be prefaced, in a grand council of the governor, the nobility, and the deputies of the proprietors; and, at the end of every century, all laws were to be void, without any formal repeal. The Duke of Albemarle was chosen first palatine; but his death, soon after, gave place to Lord Berkeley. Mr. Locke became a landgrave; and all the proprietors had high offices.

In January, 1670, William Sargle made a settlement at Port Royal; which, before 1679, had cost the proprietors eighteen thousand pounds. It was governed by the founder, till August 1676; when he fell a victim to the climate, and was succeeded, in the government, by Sir John Yeamans. *Old Charlestown* was founded in the same year. But, while these events were taking place in the south, some less propitious circumstances occurred in the Albemarle colony. In 1670, the inhabitants were exasperated, by an attempt of Governor Stephens to introduce Mr. Locke's constitution: their ill temper was increased by a report, that the proprietors meditated a dismember-

ment of the colony; nor was it at all assuaged, by the endeavours of the company to cut off their trade with New England. In 1677, the malcontents found a leader in Culpeper, the surveyor-general of Carolina; and they composed so great a portion of the people, that it was not long before they had completely revolutionized the government. The tithables of the colony, namely, all white men, together with negro and Indian women, between sixteen and sixty,—were ascertained to be only fourteen hundred; and the whole exports, exclusive of cattle and corn, were not more than eight hundred thousand pounds of tobacco. Culpeper continued governor till 1683; when Seth Sothel arrived. He had bought Lord Clarendon's interest; was appointed governor in 1680; and was banished the country, for twelve months, in 1688. The five years of his administration had been little else than a series of bribery, extortion, breach of trust, and disobedience of orders.

A considerable period elapsed, before the occurrence of any other important event in Carolina. As an evidence of her poverty, we may mention, that, when Mr. Joseph West, the mercantile agent of the proprietors, succeeded to the governorship, in the place of Sir John Yeamans, he was obliged to receive his salary in plantation and mercantile stock. In April, 1679, Charles made an abortive attempt to

cultivate wine, oil, silk, and other southern productions; and, about the same period, the present city of Charleston was founded, and made the seat of government. For a long time, the colony was at enmity with the Spanish settlement of St. Augustine. But nothing of much consequence occurred, till the year 1693; when, after having struggled, in vain, to support a constitution, which was no way adapted to their circumstances, the colony renounced the system of Mr. Locke, and resumed their old form of government.

In the mean time, the colony of Virginia was labouring under new difficulties. The price of tobacco would still decrease, in spite of every exertion to stop it: the Indians were hostile: the king made large grants of land to his favourites; and, in 1676, just as the agents of the colony were about to obtain a compliance with its wishes on this head, a formidable rebellion, under Colonel Nathaniel Bacon,—a bold, ambitious, and fluent young man, who had been nominated to the council,—threatened to involve the country in still greater calamities. He harangued the people upon their manifold grievances;—and when did the people ever turn a deaf ear to such harangues? He was appointed their general; and, entering Jamestown, at the head of six hundred armed followers, *applied* to the governor for a commission. It was be-



stowed, of course; but, as soon as Bacon was beyond the capital, the governor caused him to be proclaimed a rebel. He immediately returned; and the governor fled to Accomack. The insurgents held a convention; inveighed against the governor for fomenting civil war, and abdicating his office; declared, that it behoved them to suppress all disturbances, till the colony was rightly represented to the king, by the deputies of Nathaniel Bacon; and concluded their manifesto, by recommending an oath, to join their general against the common enemy, and to assist in apprehending all evil-disposed persons. The governor collected a small band of followers: a civil war ensued: Jamestown was burnt by the insurgents; and the colony was suffering under all the evils of such a war,—when, in January, 1677, the death of Bacon brought them to a close. Sir William Berkeley resumed the government; but returned to England soon after; and was succeeded by Hubert Jeffreys; who, soon after his arrival, effectuated a peace with the Indians.

Until 1680, the general court of Virginia was composed of the counsellors; the supreme appellate jurisdiction being exercised by the whole assembly. In that year, Governor Culpeper instituted a question, whether the counsellors could lawfully sit in an assembly, who heard appeals from their own decisions? The burgesses claimed the exclusive right of

judging in the last resort; and the controversy ended, as Lord Culpeper probably expected it would, by making the judgments of the general court final, in cases of less value than three hundred pounds; with a right of appeal, in those of greater amount, to the king in council. From this time to the revolution of 1688, the history of Virginia is barren of all interest. Tobacco continued at a low price; and several persons were executed for endeavouring to enhance it, by destroying the plant in the bed, when it was too late to sow the seed again. In June, 1671, Sir William Berkeley estimated the population at forty thousand souls; and, by an official return of General Smith, in 1680, it appears, that the military force of the colony consisted of seven thousand two hundred and sixty-eight infantry, and thirteen hundred cavalry.

About the same time, New England is said to have contained four times as many inhabitants, and double the number of militia. This difference is a sufficient indication of prosperity; and prosperity resulted chiefly from a neglect of all commercial restrictions,—and from the quiet, in which the plague, the fire of London, and the discontents of the English people, necessitated the mother-country to leave her distant possessions. But, in 1670, a plan was laid, in another quarter, for the interruption of this prosperous repose. Philip, second son of Massassoet, pro-

jected, and, by 1675, his activity had brought about, a general combination of all the Indian tribes, in New England, against the white invaders of their territory. No intimation of the plan transpired, till it was effectually ripe; when the Indians fell suddenly upon the white inhabitants; and scarcely a family escaped, without the loss of a relative or friend. But Philip, at length, lost his own family and counsellors; was killed himself, by one of his own people, in August, 1676; and the want of another adequate leader necessitated his followers to submit. The warriors under his own immediate command had never exceeded five hundred; but his whole force, exclusive of the eastern Indians, was estimated at three thousand.

In the midst of the Indian war, Massachusetts had to renew the discussion of the claims, set up by Mason and Gorges, to New Hampshire and Maine. As the general court had evaded the frequent efforts of Charles to bring them before his council, he deputed Edward Randolph, in 1676, to advertise them of his resolution to give judgment on the other side, unless an appearance should be entered within six months. The appearance, however, was of little avail; for, although representatives were promptly despatched by the court, it was decided by the king, in council, that the boundary of Massachusetts should

not be construed to run more than three miles north of the Merrimack. A royal government was constituted for New Hampshire, in 1676; and Massachusetts was obliged to give Gorges twelve hundred pounds for the recovery of Maine. Nothing but the poverty of Charles had prevented *him* from buying both of these provinces, for his favourite son, the Duke of Monmouth. The purchase of Massachusetts, therefore, was a great aggravation of her manifold delinquencies; and they were again rendered more flagrant by the ill success of Mr. Randolph, in enforcing obedience to the navigation laws. In 1681, complaints, from all sides, had become so formidable, that the general court saw the necessity of appointing agents, to represent the colony in England; though special caution was given to those agents, against consenting to any measure, which would infringe the liberties secured by the charter. Their powers were declared insufficient; and they were told, that a *quo warranto* would immediately issue against the colony, unless more satisfactory ones should be obtained. Some efforts were made to render the colony submissive; but the people determined, throughout, ‘that it was better to die by other hands than their own;’ and they, accordingly, died by the hands of the high court of chancery, in the Trinity Term of 1684.

Charles did not long survive this decree; but the



colonists had no reason to presage any better things from his successor, James II.; who, in 1686, constituted a president and council, for the absolute, though temporary, government of New England. The presidency was given to Mr. Dudley; but he, as a native of Massachusetts, was, by no means, inclined to be so strict and tyrannical as the king had intended; and it was found necessary to put the office into the more ready and vigorous hands of Sir Edmund Andros, who had been the governor of New York. Immediately after his arrival, he proceeded to break the seal, and to dissolve the government of Rhode Island: treated Connecticut in the same manner; annexed both to Massachusetts; and called together a grand legislative council, of persons selected by the crown, throughout the united colonies. The acts of this body were so oppressive, or so offensive, at any rate, that the colonists saw fit to depute Mr. Mather, an eminent politician and divine, to lay their grievances before the king. Mr. Mather was graciously received; but James was not to be turned from a project he had conceived, of consolidating all the colonies, as far as the Delaware, in order to resist the encroachments of the French; and, instead of restoring the provinces of New England, each to its own separate government, he annexed to the union, already formed, the two additional colonies of New York and New Jersey.

The people of New England continued an ostensible obedience to the grand council; but they secretly cursed all its proceedings, both good and bad; and only awaited some convenient occasion, to show their real feelings, in an open manner. A vague report, concerning the proceedings of the Prince of Orange, was sufficient to set the materials of rebellion on fire. The people of Boston rose, without any apparent concert, on the 18th of April, 1689; seized and imprisoned the governor; restored the old order of things; and were, shortly after, relieved from all fears about the consequences of their precipitancy, by having to celebrate the coronation of William and Mary. The other colonies of New England did not fail to follow the good example of Massachusetts.

New York, in the mean while, was, also, undergoing its revolutions. In July, 1673, when England and Holland were, once more, at war, it was taken, without opposition, by a small Dutch squadron, under Binkies and Evertzen; was restored by the treaty of Westminster, in the following year; and, along with New Jersey, was, soon after, put under the government of Sir Edmund Andros. The claim to a part of Connecticut was renewed; but met with such resolute opposition, that Sir Edmund was obliged to relinquish it. He dissatisfied his own people, too, by continuing the taxes imposed by the Dutch, and by

imposing some new duties, on the sole authority of the proprietor. He was accused to the king; and acquitted. The collector was next seized, and sent to England; but was never prosecuted. And it was not till 1683, when the revenue laws were about to expire, that the complaints of the colonists, and the doubts of many in the mother country, as to the duke's legislative powers, induced him to appoint a new governor, with instructions to summon an assembly.

In 1674, William Penn obtained an assignment of Lord Berkeley's interest in the Jerseys; and, in 1676, he released East Jersey to Carteret. About 1680, after settling a controversy with the Duke of York, he, with eleven others, obtained a transfer of Carteret's part; and immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the Earl of Perth, and others. Continual efforts were made, in the mean time, for re-annexing the Jerseys to New York. Carteret established a port of entry at Amboy. Andros seized and condemned the vessels which traded there. New York then claimed the right of taxing the Jerseys; but, when her collector ventured to prosecute a vessel, judgment was, almost invariably, given against him. A *quo warranto* issued against East Jersey: the proprietors surrendered their patent; and it was

not long after, that, as we have seen above, both Jerseys were annexed to New England.

A Mr. Dongan was the governor, who succeeded Andros, in 1683. The French had undertaken to exclude the people of New York from the fur trade in Canada; and, as the Five Nations were then at war with the tribes of that country, Dongan sought revenge, by obtaining permission to assist them. The permission was recalled, in 1686; and, under Andros, New York was, shortly after, annexed to New England. James II. had ordered the discontinuance of assemblies: the colonists were greatly exasperated at the proceeding; and, as soon as they heard of the revolution at Boston, they took possession of the fort, in King William's name, and drove the lieutenant-governor out of the country. Captain Jacob Leisler, who was the leader of the insurrection, conducted afterwards with so little prudence or moderation, that the province was divided into two factions, and for a long time suffered much inconvenience from their mutual animosities.

In 1681, William Penn obtained a charter for the territory of Pennsylvania: in April, 1682, he formed a code of laws for his intended colony; in August, he obtained from the Duke of York a grant of Newcastle, with the country southward, to Cape Henlopen; and, in October of the same year, he landed on the



banks of the Delaware, with two thousand emigrants. Philadelphia was immediately founded; and, within twelve months, nearly one hundred houses demonstrated the rapidity of its growth. The proprietor, though appointed 'captain-general' of his territory, and invested with power to raise, equip, and lead his forces, whenever it should be necessary, did not come to the country as a conqueror;\* and, instead of exasperating the natives, by forcing them to quit their lands, conciliated their good will, by paying them a satisfactory equivalent. He experienced considerable difficulty, however, in settling a dispute with Lord Baltimore, about the boundaries of his grant; and, after some fruitless altercation, the question was submitted to the committee of plantations; who decided, that the peninsula formed by the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be equally divided between the two claimants, by a meridional line, drawn from the fortieth degree of north latitude to Cape Henlopen. Penn's code of laws was founded on the enlightened principle, that 'liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience, without liberty, is slavery;' but its complicated provisions were much better in theory than in practice; and, after many unsuccessful attempts to make it fit the circumstances of the colony, it was finally abandoned for a more simple form of government. Pennsylvania was dilatory in acknow-

\* See Note (G).

ledging the Prince of Orange. The government was administered in the name of James, for some time after his abdication; and, when, at last, the proprietor was obliged to recognise William and Mary, he did not lack address to make satisfactory apologies for his delay.

Nor did Massachusetts derive so much benefit from the revolution as she had, at first, anticipated. In June, 1689, the assembly met at Boston; and, until orders were received from England, the council were requested to administer the government according to the original charter. The king sent for Sir Admond Andros, and the other prisoners: the general court deputed two assistants, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes, to aid the other agents in procuring a confirmation of their beloved charter: but a new one was issued, in 1691; and the colony found, with no little dissatisfaction, that, in future, the king was to appoint their governor, deputy-governor, and secretary; and that the governor was to have the calling, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution of the assembly,—as well as the sole appointment of all military, and, with the council, of all judicial, officers. By another provision, Plymouth and Nova Scotia were annexed to Massachusetts; while, contrary to the wishes of both parties, New Hampshire was left to a separate government. In May, 1692, Sir William Phipps, the first governor,

arrived with the new charter; which, after all, was, in the following June, joyfully accepted by the general assembly.

New York was reduced to its former allegiance, in March, 1691. The conduct and character of Leisler had determined some of the most respectable men in the colony to settle at Albany; where a convention of the people resolved to retain the fort and country for the king and queen. Leisler sent against it a small force, under his worthy lieutenant, one Jacob Melbourne; who, though, on his first attack, he found the garrison impregnable to his sermons against James and popery, was enabled to subdue them on the second, by the co-operation of the Indians. Their property was confiscated; and Leisler's authority re-established. But both himself and his authority were short-lived. He had the folly to resist the new governor, Colonel Henry Slaughter; who soon obtained possession of the fort, and ordered Leisler and Melbourne to be executed for high treason. Nor was it with internal enemies alone that New York had, at this time, to contend. In 1688, Louis XIV. despatched some ships of war, under one Caffiniere, in order to assist Count Frontignac, general of the land forces, in a project for the conquest of that province. Count Frontignac was indefatigable in his efforts to gain over the Five Nations; who had made two attacks upon

Montreal, and murdered a great number of inhabitants. He held a great council with them at Onondaga; and, as they seemed to be somewhat inclined to peace, he resolved to give their favourable disposition no time for change, and, at the same time, to inspirit his own drooping countrymen, by finding them immediate employment against the English colonies. On the 19th of January, a party of about two hundred French, and some Cahnuaga Indians, set out, in the deep snow, for Schenectady: they arrived on the 8th of February, eleven o'clock at night; and the first intimation the inhabitants had of their design, was conveyed in the noise of their own bursting doors. The village was burnt: sixty persons were butchered; twenty-seven suffered the worse fate of captivity; and the rest made their way naked through the snow to Albany. A party of young men, and some Mohawk Indians, set out from the latter place; pursued the enemy; and killed and captured twenty-five. In the spring and summer of 1680, New Hampshire and Maine were subject to similar inroads. Massachusetts fitted out seven small vessels, with about eight hundred men; who, under Sir William Phipps, had the poor revenge of taking Port Royal, and returned on the 30th of May, with hardly plunder enough to pay the expense of equipment. About the same time, Count Frontignac made an attack upon Salmon Falls and



Fort Casco; where he killed and captured about one hundred and eighty persons.

New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts now resolved to join in an united attack upon the common enemy. The troops of the former set out, by land, for Montreal. Those of the latter, consisting of about two thousand, set sail from Nantucket, on the 9th of August, in a fleet of forty vessels, some of which carried forty-four guns. The land forces did not receive the aid they expected from the Five Nations: their provisions fell short; and they were obliged to return. The naval expedition did not reach Quebec till October: the energy of Sir William Phipps was by no means calculated to counterbalance the inclemency of the season; and, after holding several councils of war, and parading about the place for two or three days, it was deemed most expedient to return; and the fleet arrived safely at Boston, on the 13th of November. The colony being unable to pay off the troops, they threatened to mutiny; and, as a last resource, the general court issued bills of credit, and, at the same time, imposed a tax, payable in those bills, at five per cent. above par. The paper, for a time, was worth only fourteen shillings in the pound; but it rose above par, when the tax was about to be collected.

The Indians now renewed their hostilities. Sir William Phipps went to England for aid; but re-

turned, without effecting his purpose. A fort was built at Pamaquid. Iberville and Villebone appeared before it with two ships of war, and some French and Indians; but, to the no small dissatisfaction of the latter, the lateness of the season, and the want of a pilot, necessitated them to return. In the summer of 1693, King William at length despatched two thousand one hundred sailors, and two thousand four hundred soldiers, for the reduction of Quebec; but they were first to capture Martinique; and, before they reached Boston, a contagious fever had carried off more than half of their numbers. The rest were incapable of service; and the expedition was abandoned. In 1696, the conquests which Massachusetts had made in the French territory, refused their obedience: Pamaquid was taken by Iberville; and New Hampshire was obliged to secure herself from attack, by putting a body of five hundred men under the command of Colonel Church. But Iberville retired; and, though Church made, in turn, a successful inroad upon the French territory, nothing of consequence took place on either side. In the course of the same year, a plan was matured at the court of Versailles, for laying waste all the English possessions in America; and it is said, that the plan would probably have succeeded, had not the forces, appropriated for the purpose, been employed in other service, till the season of operation was past.

The peace of **Riswick** put an end to hostilities between the **French** and **English** on both sides of the **Atlantic**. All the **New England** colonies had suffered severely from the **Indians** during the war. **New York** was protected by the **Five Nations**: and yet, so little did the **English** ministry know of the respective situations of the colonies, or so partial were they to that of the **Duke of York**, that they formed a design, in 1695, of uniting the forces of all the others for the defence of this. **Massachusetts** was to furnish three hundred and fifty men; **Rhode Island**, forty-eight; **Connecticut**, one hundred and twenty; **New York**, two hundred; **Pennsylvania**, eighty; **Maryland**, one hundred and sixty; **Virginia**, two hundred and fifty; in all, eleven hundred and ninety-eight. But the plan was never carried into execution. Such of the colonies as were attacked themselves, could not spare troops to defend others; and those that were still at peace, could not tell how long they should be. As **Virginia** was peculiarly peaceful, she furnishes little matter for the pen of the historian. The college of **William and Mary** obtained a charter, in 1692; had a liberal endowment soon after; and was established at **Williamsburg**, in 1693. In 1698, the state-house at **Jamestown** was consumed by fire; and, in the following year, the seat of government was removed to **Williamsburg**.

By the treaty of **Riswick**, there was to be a recipro-

cal surrender of all conquests made during the war. But no specific arrangement was entered into, for ascertaining the respective boundaries of the English and French possessions in America. The subject furnished ample room for controversy; and, when news was brought, that hostilities had been re-commenced in Europe, it found the colonies in a fit disposition to welcome the event. They mutually flew to arms; and, as New York had secured herself from danger, by assisting to conclude a treaty of neutrality, between the Five Nations and the governor of Canada, New England was obliged to endure the whole brunt of the war. Propositions were, indeed, made for a general neutrality; but Dudley, the governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was in hopes of subduing Nova Scotia, and, perhaps, Canada; and, in the spring of 1707, he applied to Connecticut and Rhode Island to assist his own colonies in raising, for the purpose, a body of one thousand men. The former declined to contribute her quota: the troops were raised by the other three; and, on the 13th of May, the expedition set sail from Nantasket, in twenty-three transports, under the convoy of the Deptford man of war, and the Province galley. It arrived at Port Royal in a few days; but, as Colonel March, though a brave man, was unfit to head so difficult an enterprise, little was done beyond the burning of some houses, and the killing of a few cattle.



The officers were jealous of each other: all were mistaken as to the state of the fort; and it was soon concluded to re-embark the troops. They were led back again by the vicegerents of the governor; but, after spending ten days in fruitless parade about the fort, they again re-embarked and came home.

The colonies were resolved not to give up the enterprise so. In the fall of 1708, Massachusetts plied the queen with an address; which, with the assistance of the colony's friends in England, at length obtained from the ministry a promise of five regiments of regular troops. These, with twelve hundred men, raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were to sail from Boston and proceed to Quebec; while a second division of fifteen hundred men, from the colonies south of Rhode Island, were to march against Montreal, by the route of Lake Champlain. Pennsylvania did not raise her quota of troops; and those furnished by the other colonies did not penetrate beyond Wood Creek. The Boston troops waited for the English army from the 20th of May to the 11th of October, 1709; when the news, that it had been ordered to Portugal, obliged the provinces to abandon the undertaking. But their patience was not yet exhausted. Another application was made to the queen; and, in July, 1710, Colonel Nicholson, who commanded the troops destined for Montreal, the year before, came over with five frigates

and a bomb-ketch, for the purpose of attacking Port Royal. He was joined by three regiments of New England troops; sailed from Boston, the 18th of September; and, on the 24th, was before Port Royal; which surrendered, on the 5th of October; and, being called *Annapolis*, in honour of the queen, was put under the government of Samuel Vech, a Nova Scotian trader. Nicholson returned to England; and, pleading the success of his first expedition, obtained from the new ministry an army of seven regiments, who had grown veteran under the Duke of Marlborough. The colonies, too, made every exertion to bear the expenses and burthens of the expedition. Troops were soon raised: Massachusetts issued forty thousand pounds in bills of credit: provisions were impressed; and, on the 30th of July, 1711, the whole armament left Boston harbour for Quebec. On the 23d of August, the wreck of ten transports on Egg Island, in the St. Lawrence, determined the squadron to put about. A debate was held at Spanish River, in Cape Breton, upon the expediency of annoying the French at Placentia; but the whole expedition sailed for England, without annoying them there, or any where else. The frontiers of the colonies were again left exposed to depredation; nor was it till 1713, that the cession of Nova Scotia to England prevented the French from instigating the Indians to hostility.

While these things were taking place in the north, Carolina was alternately engaged in disputes with its proprietors, and in quarrels with its neighbours. A rumour of the war against France and Spain, in 1702, induced Governor Moore to anticipate the event, by proposing an immediate attack upon St. Augustine. In vain did the more temperate incur the epithet of traitor, by protesting against the measure. There were six thousand white inhabitants of the colony: two thousand pounds were voted to defray all expenses; and, in September, of the same year, Mr. Moore sailed, with a part of six hundred militia and six hundred Indians; while Colonel Daniel set out by land with the remainder. The Spaniards, apprised of the undertaking, had stored the castle with four months' provisions; and, when their invaders arrived, they found it impossible to dislodge the garrison, without battering artillery. While Colonel Daniel was gone to Jamaica to procure it, the appearance of two small Spanish vessels at the mouth of the harbour so terrified the governor, that he abandoned his own ships, and fled precipitately to Carolina. Daniel escaped the enemy with great difficulty: and the only result of the enterprise was a debt of six thousand pounds; which the colony was obliged to discharge by bills of credit, redeemable in three years, out of a duty on liquors, skins, and furs. But the ignominy of this

expedition, was shortly after wiped off, by a successful war against the Appalachian Indians; who, after witnessing the conflagration of all their towns between the Altamaha and the Savannah, were fain to solicit peace, and to acknowledge the British government. Peace with external enemies was soon followed by a revival of the old dispute with the proprietors. They added new fuel to the controversy, by attempting to establish the episcopal church; and the flame, at length, mounted so high, that, had not another foreign war withdrawn the attention of the colony, they must have shortly fallen under a writ of *quo warranto*.

Spain, through the governor of Havanna, despatched M. Le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, with four other armed vessels, and eight hundred men, to make a practical assertion of her right, by first discovery, to all North America. The news was no sooner brought to Charleston, than the appearance of the squadron was announced by signals from Sullivan's Fort. But the enemy consumed one day in sounding South Bar; and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had succeeded Mr. Moore, and who had well employed the military skill he acquired in Europe, in erecting works of defence about the harbour, made good use of the twenty-four hours, in calling out the militia, and procuring the aid of the Indians. The enemy landed three times: three times they were suc-



cessfully repulsed; and they weighed anchor for Havana, under new impressions of the strength of Carolina. The invasion cost the colony about eight thousand pounds: no tax had ever yet been imposed on lands or persons; and a continuance of the duty on liquors, skins, and furs, was pledged to redeem an additional amount of bills of credit. Commodities immediately rose in price; and the paper currency soon fell thirty-three and a third per cent. below par.

In 1707, the death of the palatine, Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, gave place to Lord Cravan, a more liberal and tolerant member of the same sect. In 1712, the neighbouring Indians formed a secret plan for the extermination of the North Carolinians. They fell suddenly upon the inhabitants; and, in the single settlement of Roanoke, one hundred and seventy-seven persons fell victims to their cruelty. Some fugitives carried the intelligence to Charleston. The assembly voted four thousand pounds, to raise troops for their defence; and a Colonel Barnwell was soon detached, with six hundred militia and about three hundred and sixty friendly Indians. In the first engagement, three hundred of the enemy fell, and one hundred were captured. The rest took shelter in a wooden breast-work at Tuscarora; but were so vigorously pressed, that they soon sued for peace; quitted the country; and, joining with the Iroquois.

formed what has since been called the *Six*, instead of the *Five*, Nations. The addition made by this war to the debt of the colony, induced the assembly to institute a bank; and to issue notes for forty thousand pounds; which should be lent on interest, and made a legal tender. In the first year, the exchange rose to one hundred and eighty; in the second, to two hundred, per cent. And, what was an additional vexation to the colonists, Queen Anne made a desperate attempt to settle, by proclamation, the nominal value of their foreign coin.

About the year 1702, a contagious fever was brought from the West Indies into several of the North American sea-ports. It raged violently in New York, and was mortal in almost every instance. To increase the calamities of the colony, it was, in the same year, put under the government of the needy and profligate Lord Cornbury; who joined the Anti-Leislerian party, because it was the strongest; flattered the assembly in a set speech; got them to raise fifteen hundred pounds, for erecting batteries at the Narrows; and appropriated the money to his own use. A quarrel ensued between himself and the legislature. But he continued to charge enormous fees, and to demand and misapply money,—till, in 1706, the united complaints of New York and Jersey induced the queen to recall him. One good conse-

quence attended his administration. The assembly passed a resolution, 'that the imposing and levying 'of any monies upon her majesty's subjects of this 'colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, 'without their consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property.' As early as 1692, it is worthy of observation, that Massachusetts published a still stronger assertion of the same principle. 'No aid, tax, tallage, assessment, 'custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever, (says the act; and the words remind us of *Magna Charta*) 'shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied 'on any of their majesties' subjects, or their estates, 'on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of 'the people, assembled in general court.'

New York had entered with much zeal into the project of conquering Canada; which we have before mentioned as having failed, for the want of the promised support from England. To defray the expenses of the army, under Colonel Nicholson, New York voted twenty thousand pounds, in bills of credit: New Jersey added three thousand pounds; and Connecticut, eight thousand more. After the enterprise had failed, Colonel Schuyler, a gentleman of great influence in New York, undertook a voyage to England, at his own expense, in order to enlist the minis-

try once more in the cause. The presence of five Indian Sachems, who sailed with him, added considerably to the weight of his negotiation; and he has the merit of having been a chief promoter of the expedition, which was so successful against Port Royal, in 1710. When Massachusetts undertook that, which terminated so differently, against Quebec, in 1712, New York issued ten thousand pounds in bills of credit, and incurred debts to still greater an amount, in order to co-operate with Connecticut and New Jersey, in putting Mr. Nicholson at the head of four thousand men, for a corresponding attack upon Montreal. But some of the ships, which had been sent to co-operate in the plan, were wrecked in the St. Lawrence; and the return of the fleet having left the French governor at liberty to direct his whole force against the army, Colonel Nicholson was apprehensive of discomfiture, and commenced a retreat.

Here concludes the history, down to this period, of every important event in the colonies, if we except the order of Queen Anne, issued in 1712, to discontinue the presents, with which the inhabitants had been accustomed to conciliate their governors; and the adjustment of boundaries between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and between Connecticut and Massachusetts. The two latter agreed, that the towns, which they had respectively settled, should still remain under



their former jurisdiction; and that, if either party should be found to have encroached on the territory of the other, the loss should be made good by an equal grant of lands, in some other place. Massachusetts had to give Connecticut one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres; which were sold by the latter, chiefly for the support of Yale College.

As early as 1655, New Haven made an appropriation of three hundred, and Milford of one hundred pounds, for the support of a grammar-school and college. The former, soon after, added a donation of lands; and, in 1659, the legislature voted forty pounds annually, and one hundred pounds for the purchase of books. In 1660, a donation was received from Governor Hopkins. The general court agreed to establish both institutions at New Haven; and the project had just begun to show its fruits, when the troubles of the colony so impoverished their resources, that they could not pay for instructors. When the New England colonies formed the union in 1665, the grammar-school was revived; and the funds, which had been raised for both institutions, being appropriated exclusively to this, it has been enabled to continue in existence to the present time.

In 1698, the clergy began again to talk upon the subject of a college: in the following year, ten of their number were chosen to found, erect, and govern one:

and, in 1700, they met at Branford, each bringing three or four large books, and laying them upon the table, with 'I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.' As it was doubtful whether they could hold property, it was agreed to petition for a charter. To promote the design, Mr. Fitch, of Norwich, gave six hundred acres of land, and 'all the glass and nails which should be necessary to build a college-house and hall.' The charter was granted in October, 1701; and, on the 11th of November, the trustees held a meeting; chose a rector; passed some rules, for the government of the institution; and concluded to fix it at Saybrook. The first commencement was held at that place on the 13th of September, 1702. The college was originally designed for the education of ministers: the charter provided, that the trustees should be none but clergymen; and, of the forty-six graduates, between 1702 and 1713, thirty-four became ministers.

The growth of the school, though slow, at length rendered it inconvenient to accommodate all the students at Saybrook; and both they and their parents were dissatisfied to see a part transferred to Milford. The evil grew worse every day; and, as the trustees did not seem inclined to apply the proper remedy, by removing the institution to a more adequate place, the several towns of the colony undertook to force the

measure, by subscribing different sums for its establishment in different situations. Seven hundred pounds sterling were subscribed to fix it at New Haven; five hundred for its continuance at Saybrook; and less sums for its removal to other places. Still there was much difference of opinion among the trustees; nor was it till October, 1716, that they agreed to establish the college at New Haven. In 1714, Governor Yale had made it a present of forty volumes; and, in 1716, he added three hundred more. Two years afterwards, he gave the trustees goods to the value of two hundred pounds sterling, prime cost; and a similar donation of one hundred pounds, in 1721, induced them to call the institution after his name.\* In 1717, the number of students was thirty-one. A century after, it had increased nearly ten-fold.

\* See Note (II).

## CHAPTER IV.

Paper-Money in Massachusetts—Quarrel between the Governor and Representatives—Inroads of the Indians—Deputation to the French—Peace—Alterations in the Charter—Renewal of the Dispute between the Executive and Legislature—Mr. Burnet's Instructions for a Fixed Salary—Adjournment of the Court—Mr. Burnet's Death—Mr. Belcher renews the Discussion—Association for issuing more Bills of Credit—Mr. Shirley—Adjustment of the Dispute between New York and New Jersey concerning Boundaries—Controversy between New York and Canada—Prosperity of the Northern Colonies—The Parson's Cause in Virginia—Proceedings in Carolina—Settlement of Yamassee Territory—Paper-Money—Disposition of the Proprietors—Disputes between the Governor and the Assembly—Dissolution of the Charter and Division of the Province—Settlement of Georgia—Mr. Oglethorpe—Quarrel with the Spaniards—Ineffectual Attack upon St. Augustine—Abortive attempt upon Georgia.

**THE** rise in exchange, produced by imprudent issues of paper-money in Massachusetts, was idly attributed to a decay in trade; and the colony was almost unanimously of opinion, that trade could only be revived, by an additional quantity of bank notes. A few saw the real evil, and were for calling in the bills, that were already abroad; but it was determined by the great majority, that, either by a private, or a public bank, the province should be supplied with more



money, or rather, with more paper. The general court at length resolved to place bills for fifty thousand pounds in the hands of trustees; who were to lend them at five per cent. interest, with a stipulation, that one-fifth of the principal should be repayed annually. Still, trade would not improve. Mr. Shute, who had just succeeded Mr. Dudley, attributed the fact to a scarcity of money; and recommended, that some effectual measures should be taken to make it more abundant. The specific was therefore doubled. But an additional emission of one hundred thousand pounds so greatly depreciated the value of the currency, that the general court were, at last, enabled to see the true cause of the difficulty: and the governor, too, when his salary came to be voted in the depreciated money, according to its nominal amount, began to be somewhat sceptical of his policy.

This was the small beginning of a long and rancorous quarrel between the governor and the general court. In 1719, (it was now 1720,) the former had incurred the censure of the ministry, by assenting to a bill for the imposition of duties upon English tonnage, and upon English manufactures: when a similar bill was sent up, this year, it was negatived in the council: a warm altercation ensued; and it was not till the next session, that the act passed without the offensive clauses. In the same session, the governor

claimed the right of negating a choice, which the house had made, of a speaker; and, when they refused to recognize the claim, he dissolved the court, and issued new writs of election. Nearly the same persons were re-elected; and the only effect of the measure, was, to make them still less disposed to accommodate Mr. Shute. They opposed him in every thing, whether it was right or wrong, insignificant or important. They neglected to vote him his salary, as was usual, at the beginning of the session; and not only postponed the business till the day of adjournment, but reduced the amount from six to five hundred pounds. The depredations of some eastern Indians made it necessary to call the representatives together again, before the stated time. They immediately passed an act, which amounted to a declaration of war; and, when the governor accused them of usurping his prerogative, they docked off another hundred pounds from his salary. He laid before them instructions from the crown, to give him a fixed and adequate sum: they ‘desired the court might rise;’ and it rose accordingly.

The governor opened the next assembly with recommending many wise measures; which were totally neglected by the court; and little else, indeed, was done, during the session, but to continue the emission of bank bills, and to drive the gold and silver from the country, by ordering, that it should be passed

at a higher rate, than that which had been established by an act of parliament. The next general court very early appointed a committee to vindicate their predecessors from the aspersions of the governor. The committee justified the house; and their report was ordered to be printed. The court postponed the vote for the governor's salary: *he* laid by their list of appointments: they deputed a committee to enquire into the matter: he told them, he should take his own time for it: the house resolved, to make no grants or allowances: the governor made an angry speech; and the court was dissolved. A new legislature soon manifested the same temper with the old. In spite of the governor's protest, that the charter had placed the militia solely at his own disposal, they proceeded to make regulations for carrying on the Indian war; leaving his excellency no other power, than that of approving the measures, which might be adopted by a committee of their appointment. He embarked suddenly for England; and the representatives and council, though generally opposed on all other questions, were united in resolving to send after him instructions to their agent, to take the best measures for defending the interest of the colony against his representations.

These internal dissensions gave the Indians a good opportunity to make their inroads upon the frontiers. They were set on by the French in Canada: particu-

larly by one father Rallé, a Jesuit missionary. Some troops were sent to capture this holy personage; but he received the intelligence in time to escape; and the party could only get possession of his papers; among which were letters of authorization from M. Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada. War was now formally declared against the Indians; and, as it was abundantly evident, that they were instigated by the French, a deputation was sent to M. Vaudreuil, in 1726, in order to remonstrate against a conduct so incompatible with the peace, which then subsisted between France and England. He first disclaimed all interference; but, when his letters to Rallé were produced, he could deny it no longer. He assured the deputation, that he would thenceforth exert himself to effectuate a peace; and a peace was accordingly soon after concluded at Boston.

Parliament, in the mean time, was condemning, question after question, the whole proceedings of the general court in the case of Mr. Shute. It was thought expedient to issue a new charter for ‘explaining’ the old one, in the two points, which respected the powers of choosing a speaker, and of adjourning the court. The last was entirely ‘explained’ away from the house; and the former was so modified, as to leave the governor his negative. Rather than have the whole subject again brought before parliament, which was the penalty of refusal. the general court concluded it was



most adviseable to adopt both of these alterations. Its attention was next turned to the loud complaints about the decay of trade and the scarcity of money. A bill passed both houses for issuing more notes; and, when it was negatived by the lieutenant-governor, they agreed to postpone the consideration of salaries. The lieutenant had said, that his instructions would not let him assent to such bills, except they were for the charges of government: a bill for issuing sixty thousand pounds was, therefore, headed, 'An act for defraying the necessary charges of government;' and the influence of an uncertain salary necessitated his excellency to give his assent.

Mr. William Burnet, the new governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had received express instructions from the king, to see that the general court settled upon him a fixed and certain salary. Soon after his arrival, the assembly voted seventeen hundred pounds for defraying the expenses of his voyage, and for supporting him in the discharge of his office. He said, he could not assent to such a vote. They then voted for the first purpose, three hundred pounds; which were accepted; and, for the last, fourteen hundred pounds; which were refused. The legislature asserted, that it was their privilege, as Englishmen, to raise and apply their own money; and, when the governor answered, that he would never accept such a

grant as had been made, the council were for establishing a fixed salary,—but the representatives requested, that the court might rise. Mr. Burnet would not grant the request. It was again made; and again refused. The house then sent up a long message; in which they detailed their reasons for refusing to establish a fixed salary; and once more reiterated their wishes, that they ‘might not be kept sitting there,’ to the manifest prejudice of their constituents. The governor answered them promptly enough; but not at all to their satisfaction; and, after resolving to adhere to their old method of appropriating monies, they drew up a statement of the controversy, and transmitted it to the several towns. Many spirited messages were exchanged in quick succession between his excellency and the house. The latter again repeated a request, that the court might rise: he told them, they could not expect to have their own wishes gratified, when they paid so little attention to those of his majesty; and the altercation was waxing so high, that the council thought it best to interfere,—and to propose, that some certain sum should be fixed upon, as a salary for the governor. The representatives voted three thousand pounds in their own money,—equal to about one thousand pounds sterling: but, as the act contained no provision for the continuance of the same sum, Mr. Burnet refused his assent; and, apprehending, that

the house was somewhat influenced by the people of Boston, who had unanimously voted against a fixed salary, he adjourned the court to the town of Salem. At Salem it met, on the 30th of October, 1728. The battle of messages re-commenced as briskly as ever. The representatives appointed agents to plead their cause in England: the council would not concur in the act, because they had not been consulted; and the project must have failed for want of money, had not the people of Boston subscribed for the necessary sums. The agents soon transmitted a report of the board of trade; in which the conduct of the house was entirely disapproved. They were told, also, that, unless *they* fixed a salary, the parliament would:—‘It is ‘better (they answered) that the liberties of the people ‘should be taken from them, than given up by themselves.’ Both parts of the administration went all this time without pay; for, as the representatives would vote no salaries, the governor would assent to no drafts upon the treasury. At length there was a recess between the 20th of December, 1728, and the 2d of April, 1729; when the court assembled at Salem; and, after several fruitless meetings, were adjourned to Cambridge. They met there, on the 21st of August; and, a few days after, Mr. Burnet died of a fever at Boston.

Mr. Belcher, his successor, came over, in the

beginning of August, 1730, with a fresh packet of instructions to insist upon a fixed salary. The king said it was the 'last signification of the royal pleasure 'on this subject;' and he threatened to bring the whole history of the province before parliament, if it were not immediately complied with. The house voted one thousand pounds currency, to defray the charges of his excellency's voyage, and a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to aid him in managing public affairs. The council added an amendment, to make the appropriation annual. The amendment was rejected. The council modified it, by confining the yearly allowance to the duration of Mr. Belcher's government. The representatives again refused their assent; and the resolution was dropped. The controversy continued for some time longer; but the governor was at length wearied out; and leave was, in the end, obtained of the king, to let the legislature take its own way in the regulation of his salary.

The termination of this dispute was only the beginning of another. An unusual scarcity of money was complained of, all over New England. The governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had been instructed to suffer the emission of no more bills in those colonies. Connecticut was employed in agriculture; and did not stand in need of much money. But the commerce of Rhode Island de-



manded an abundant circulating medium; and one hundred thousand pounds, in bills of credit, were, accordingly, loaned to the inhabitants, for twenty years. An association of merchants, in Boston, undertook to prevent the circulation of this money, by issuing, themselves, one hundred and ten thousand pounds, of the same sort: but the bills of all the New England colonies soon became current: silver rose from nineteen to twenty-seven shillings the ounce; and the notes of the association entirely disappeared. Another company of eight hundred persons set on foot a plan for issuing one hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in bills of credit; which should be lent, on good security, at three per cent. interest; the principal, as in all these schemes, being redeemable by annual instalments of a certain per cent. The authors of the project began, in season, to secure the good opinion of the next general court; and, so successful were they in the business, that the house was found to be chiefly composed of subscribers, and was, for a long time, distinguished by the name of the *Land Bank House*. Small traders, and small traders only, would accept the company's notes; but it continued to issue them without end; and the governor was finally obliged to petition parliament for an act to suppress the institution. Mr. Shirley superseded Mr. Belcher, in 1740: and one of the first bills passed

under his administration, declared that all contracts should be considered as payable in silver, at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, or its equivalent in gold. Notes for so many ounces of silver were also issued, and made receivable in payment of debts; the debts being augmented as the notes should depreciate.

A long peace had enabled New York and New Jersey to adjust, in some measure, an unpleasant dispute about boundaries. It gave the former an opportunity, also, to take advantage of her geographical facilities for trading on the northern lakes; and, in 1722, Mr. Burnet, the governor of that province, and of New Jersey, greatly excited the jealousy of the French, by building a store-house at Oswego. M. Longueil, the governor of Canada, retaliated by launching two vessels on Lake Ontario, and sending materials to erect a trading-house, and to repair the fort, at Niagara. The Seneca Indians were greatly incensed at this measure; and Mr. Burnet remonstrated against it: but M. Longueil proceeded to complete his fort; and the former could only get revenge, by erecting, at his own expense, a like fort at Oswego. M. Beauharnois, the successor of M. Longueil, sent the commander a written summons to evacuate it. The summons was disregarded. He warmly remonstrated against the proceeding to Mr. Burnet: Mr.

Burnet as warmly remonstrated against the proceeding at Niagara; and here the dispute ended for the present. It was not long afterwards, that the French acquired the control over Lake Champlain, by seizing and fortifying Crown Point.

During the regency of the Duke d'Orleans, in France, and the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, in England, all the colonies, to Virginia, inclusive, had little to distract their attention from their own private affairs, and could scarcely help becoming prosperous. Land was cheap, and subsistence easily obtained. Marriages, of course, were early and frequent; and population soon began to extend itself over the vacant parts of the country. Such a process is attended with no eclat; and perhaps there is nothing to relieve the monotony of a long and felicitous period, in the internal economy of the colonies, if we except the dispute, in Virginia, respecting ecclesiastical salaries.

In 1696, when the price of tobacco was sixteen shillings and eight pence per hundred, an act of the assembly,—which was re-enacted, and assented to by the king, in 1748,—conferred upon each parish-minister an annual stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1755, the crop was scanty; and the legislature, by another act, which was to continue in force ten months, and not to wait for the royal assent.

provided, that those, who owed debts in tobacco, might either pay them in the specific article, or in money, at the rate of sixteen shillings and eight pence per hundred. Though the price was then from fifty to sixty shillings, the measure created no disturbance; and, three years afterwards, when it was surmised, that the crop would again be short, the same expedient was resorted to. But the ministers now began to see its operation; and one of them, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Twopenny Act*, convinced the legislature, that he understood precisely, how they were defrauding his order of its just dues. He was attacked by two colonels; whom he answered with *The Colonels Dismounted*; and the war of pamphlets soon grew so hot, that the printers of Virginia were afraid to continue it.

The subject was next taken up by the king in council; who declared, that the act of 1758 was a mere usurpation, and could have no force. Backed by such authority, the ministers brought the question before a county court; and, after a formal argument, it was decided in their favour. By the laxity of practice, the subject was permitted to be once more discussed; and, when all supposed, that the first judgment could never be shaken, the unexpected eloquence of Mr. Patrick Henry is said to have changed the opinion of the court. The clergy took



their revenge in an angry pamphlet; and here the controversy seems to have terminated.\*

Carolina, in the mean time, was rapily undergoing a revolution of government. In 1715, the colony had incurred considerable expenses, in a war with about six thousand Yamassee, Creek, and Appalachian Indians; who were met at a place called the Salt Catchers, by twelve hundred men, and so completely routed, that they were obliged to make a new settlement in Florida. The proprietors not only ordered the reduction of the paper money, which the assembly saw fit to issue, on account of this expedition; but, when applied to for assistance by the agents of the colony, they declared their inability to protect it, unless his majesty would interpose. The assembly had, also, undertaken to make a barrier against the Indians, by offering the Yamassee territory to all persons, who would come over and settle in it. Five hundred Irishmen accepted the offer, and had actually taken up the ground; when the proprietors ordered the law to be repealed, and the lands to be laid out in baronies for themselves. It had been the custom to elect all the representatives of the colony in the single town of Charleston. The increase of population now rendered the practice extremely inconvenient; and the legislature had enacted.

\* See Note (1)

that, for the future, each parish should assemble in its own church, and choose its own representatives. The proprietors ordered the act to be repealed; and Governor Johnson, son of the former governor of that name, had to use all his influence to keep the colonists from breaking into open rebellion, at this wanton and outrageous proceeding. But they were compelled to bear yet more insults. Some expeditions against a band of pirates, who had long infested the coast, necessitated the assembly, as they imagined, to issue another quantity of paper money; and the governor carried an additional bill, for redeeming it, in three years, by a tax upon land and negroes. But the tax was oppressive to the planters; and they had influence enough to obtain another act for the emission of more bills. As soon as the proprietors heard of these transactions, they sent the governor instructions to approve of no legislative measure, until it had been laid before *them*. Another order soon after followed, to take off a duty, which the colony had laid, of five per cent. on British manufactures: and, as if these outrages were not sufficient, they deemed it meet to show another instance of their despotism, by giving an arrogant and abusive answer to a memorial, which the assembly had presented, against their right to revoke the laws of the province.

The rupture between Spain and Great Britain,

in 1719, afforded fresh opportunities for the prosecution of this dispute. The rumour of an expedition, fitting out at Havanna, for the invasion of South Carolina, induced Governor Johnson to attempt the reparation of the forts in the harbour of Charleston, by the voluntary aid of the inhabitants. A subscription was set on foot; and he placed a liberal sum opposite to his own name. The assembly disapproved of the measure; or, rather, asserted, that the receipts from the duties would render it unnecessary. The governor wanted to know, if the duties had not been taken off? They told him, they intended to pay no attention to the repeals, which they had been forced to make. A warm altercation followed; and, though nothing decisive took place, the representatives seem to have formed a determination to rid themselves of the proprietary government. Private meetings were held, to concert measures of resistance. The militia unanimously subscribed an instrument of association; and the people engaged to stand by each other, in the assertion of their rights and privileges. At the first meeting of the new assembly, all former repeals were repealed: the proprietors were declared to have forfeited their rights of government; and the honourable Robert Johnson was desired to accept the office of governor, in the name of the king. A message from himself and the council

requested a conference with the house: they would receive no message 'from the governor, in concert 'with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his council.' He sent them an expostulatory speech:—they would take notice of no 'paper, sent by the governor, 'in conjunction with the gentlemen' he called his council; and they informed him, in a second address, that they intended to cast off the proprietary government, and to obey him no longer, unless he would consent to exercise his office, as vicegerent of the king. He proclaimed the dissolution of the assembly; and retired into the country. The proclamation was torn from the officer's hands: Colonel John Moore was elected chief magistrate; and the assembly agreed to inaugurate him, on the very day, which Mr. Johnson had set apart for a review of the militia. He had the review postponed: but, when he came into Charleston, on the appointed day, he found the militia paraded in the public square, in order to celebrate the proclamation of Mr. Moore. All his efforts to stop the proceeding were ineffectual. The assembly proclaimed their own governor; chose their own council; and went deliberately about the transaction of public affairs. The province was on their side; and their power was soon after corroborated and fixed, by the vigorous preparations, which they made to repel a contemplated attack from Havana. Their agent in



England obtained a decision in the council, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter: a *scire facias* issued against it: the proprietors surrendered their interests; and Mr. Francis Nicholson was soon after welcomed to the colony, as governor under the king. The security, which the province felt in the protection of the crown, was greatly increased by a treaty, which was soon after concluded with the Cherokee Indians. Security made the colonists industrious; and industry soon raised them sufficiently above their former circumstances, to arrest the depreciation of their paper currency; which had fallen about eighty-six per cent. below par. Increase of wealth made boundaries a matter of importance; and, in 1732, the province found it convenient to divide itself into North and South Carolina.

About the same time, the territory of Georgia was granted to twenty-one trustees, for the purpose of being parcelled out to such of the English poor as would consent to be carried over the Atlantic; and, early in 1733, Mr. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, arrived at Charleston with one hundred and sixty. He proceeded, soon afterwards, to the intended place of settlement; erected a small fort on the scite of Savanna; and obtained a cession of lands from the Creek tribe of Indians. The first company was followed by several others:—but the progress of

the colony was greatly obstructed, by an attempt to put it under a feudal system. The lands were to be held in tail-male, by the tenure of knight-service; and to revert to the trustees, either if the male issue should become extinct,—or if the ground were not enclosed and cultivated within eighteen years. To complete the policy, the importation of rum and of negroes was prohibited; and all commerce with the Indians was restricted to those, who could obtain a license. The natural consequences soon followed. A great many of the settlers emigrated to Carolina; where they could hold lands in fee simple; could trade freely with the West Indies; and be permitted to employ negro slaves in the cultivation of their lands. Those who staid behind, were perpetually complaining of their fetters: and, though Mr. Oglethorpe erected a battery, to command the mouth of the Savanna, and built forts at Augusta and Frederica, the colony needed civil privileges more than military defences, and their general concerns were soon in a ruinous condition. Under a different system, Carolina was so prosperous as to double her exports in ten years; while it was with the greatest difficulty, that the inhabitants of Georgia obtained a scanty subsistence.

When England and Spain began to prepare for war, in 1731, a British regiment of six hundred men

was sent into Carolina; and Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed major-general of that province and of Georgia. The Spaniards fortified East Florida; and made a vain attempt to gain over the Indians, who were in alliance with the English. They succeeded better with the slaves; of whom enough were seduced to form a distinct regiment by themselves. Nor did the evil stop here. A large number of negroes assembled at Stono; forced open a warehouse of arms and ammunition; murdered all the white men, whom they met; and compelled the black, willing or unwilling, to come under their standard. But it was a brief triumph. After the first impulse of rage was exhausted, the insurgents halted in an open field; and began their usual pastime of dancing. There happened to be a religious meeting in the neighbourhood; and the congregation, armed as usual, set upon the thoughtless rabble; killed great numbers on the spot; and so frightened the rest, that they never afterwards dreamed of insurrection. There were now about forty thousand slaves in Carolina; and the occurrence just mentioned had the good effect of making the colonists keep vigilant watch over their conduct, during the approach of the war between England and Spain.

When it actually broke out, in 1739, Admiral Vernon was detached to the West Indies, and General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Floridas. He

immediately communicated his instructions to the assembly of South Carolina: they voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the service: a regiment of four hundred men was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas: a body of Indians enlisted; and Post Captain Price promised his co-operation with four twenty-gun ships and two sloops of war. On the 9th of May, 1740, the general entered Florida, with four hundred men and a party of Indians from his own province. He was joined, at the mouth of St. John's River, by the Virginia and Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders; and was enabled, shortly after, to appear before St. Augustine, with about two thousand effective men. A reconnoitre of the place induced him to abandon his original design of taking it by storm. A regular investment was determined upon; and the troops were disposed in the most advantageous positions for beginning the approaches. The general himself undertook to bombard the town from the Island of Anastatia; but a few shots convinced him that a breach, at so great a distance, was impracticable. It was next resolved to attack the six half gallies then in the harbour, by one of the twenty-gun ships; but the bar was found to be so shallow that she could not get over it. In the mean time, the Spaniards had received supplies and reinforcements; and a party of the besiegers was surprised and cut in pieces. Other



misfortunes followed in quick succession. Captain Price withdrew his ships: the dispirited troops began to desert in large bodies; and General Oglethorpe was, at length, reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise. The colonists attributed the failure to the general; and the general laid it to the charge of the army. We think, neither was to blame. The force was too small at the outset; and, before a part of it reached the place of rendezvous, the arrival of supplies had greatly and unexpectedly increased the strength of the enemy.

But, at any rate, the expenses entailed by the expedition, joined to the still greater calamity of seeing their capital reduced to ashes, determined the people of Carolina to raise no forces in future, except for their own defence; and, when an expedition of thirty ships and three thousand men sailed against Georgia, in 1742, they imagined it would not be for their own defence, to aid General Oglethorpe in preventing the enemy from getting possession of a province, which was so effectual a barrier to their own. About the end of June the enemy anchored off Simon's Bar; and General Oglethorpe found he had to oppose him with only seven hundred men,—consisting of the regiment he led against St. Augustine, and of a few Highlanders, rangers, and Indians. But the thickets and morasses of the country stood him in the place of

many soldiers; and, retiring to Frederica, he resolved to act, as long as he could, upon the defensive. By an English prisoner, who had escaped from the Spaniards, he learned, that the troops from Cuba, and those from St. Augustine, agreed so ill with each other, that they had taken up their encampments apart. One of these, the general thought he might venture to attack. He selected the flower of his little army; and, under the cover of the night, marched unobserved within two miles of the lines. The main body was halted; while he went forward, with a small party, to reconnoitre the encampment. He had, with great circumspection, approached very near it; when the whole enterprise was supposed to be defeated, by the treachery of a French soldier, who fired his musket, and ran over to the enemy. General Oglethorpe wrote a letter to the deserter; requesting him to tell the Spaniards how defenceless Frederica was; to urge an immediate attack; or, at any rate, to persuade them to remain at Simon's Fort three days longer; when his expected reinforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war would arrive. He particularly cautioned him against dropping even a hint about the contemplated attack of Admiral Vernon upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner, who had been taken in a skirmish, was bribed to deliver the letter into the deserter's own hands: but he, of course, delivered it into the

hands of General Don Antonio Di Radondo. The latter was, at first, not a little perplexed, whether to consider it as a mere stratagem, or as a real and serious letter of instruction: but the appearance of some ships, which had been despatched with supplies by the assembly of South Carolina, appeared to put the seriousness of the paper beyond all doubt. The panic-struck army set fire to the fort, and hurried on board of their vessels; and thus a circumstance, which, at first, seemed to threaten the certain conquest of the province, served, in the hands of a skilful commander, as perhaps the only means of its preservation.

## CHAPTER V.

War between France and England and their Colonies—Preparation for an Attack upon Louisbourg—The Attack—Surrender—D’Anville’s Expedition—Abortive Attempt upon Nova Scotia—Upon Crown Point—Peace—Paper Money in Massachusetts—Discovery of Louisiana and Foundation of New Orleans—Situation of the English and French Colonies—Origin of the Rupture between them—Colonel Washington’s Embassy—Project of *Union*—Plan of the first Campaign—Capture of Nova Scotia—General Braddock’s Defeat—Expedition against Crown Point—That against Niagara—Second Campaign—Capture of Oswego—Third Campaign—Disputes between Lord Loudoun and Massachusetts—Fourth Campaign—Second Capture of Louisbourg—Unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga—Capture of Fort Frontignac—Of Du Quesne—Fifth Campaign—Capture of Quebec—Death of Wolfe—Attempt to retake Quebec—Surrender of New France—General Peace.

WHILE France and England were engaged in actual war, under the pretence of supporting respectively the queen of Hungary and the elector of Bavaria, the colonies of the two nations preserved a sort of hostile peace; but, as soon as the news reached Cape Breton, that the controversy had become open and avowed in Europe, Duvivier attacked and took the English fishing settlement at Canseau; and, soon after, made a similar, though unsuccessful, attempt, upon Annapolis. Governor Shirley immediately formed the design of



taking Cape Breton. It was well situated for annoying the English fisheries; and thirty millions of francs employed upon its fortifications, had made it the ‘Dunkirk of America.’ The governor requested the secrecy of the court, upon a project, which he was about to communicate. They readily promised it; and he surprised them with the proposal of sending four hundred men to take Louisbourg by storm. They condemned the undertaking as vastly too hazardous and expensive: but, unfortunately, or, perhaps, fortunately, one of the members happened to pray for blessings upon it, in the family devotions at his lodgings. The plan was soon known, all over Massachusetts: the people were generally in favour of it; and an influx of petitions, from every quarter, induced the council to change their determination. They invited the co-operation of all the colonies as far as Pennsylvania; but none, except those of New England, would furnish their quotas of troops. There was no military character of note in the country; and the command of the expedition was given to one Colonel Pepperel; who had little other qualification than that of being a rich merchant and a popular man. A general embargo was laid: more bills of credit were issued, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the crown: ‘a variety of advice, (says Mr. Belknap,) was given from all quarters:’ private property was impressed; and, by

the 4th of April, 1745, three thousand two hundred and fifty troops from Massachusetts arrived safely at Canseau. The quota of three hundred and four, from New Hampshire, had landed four days before; that of five hundred and sixteen, from Connecticut, came in, on the 25th of the same month; but the troops from Rhode Island did not arrive in time to be of any service to the expedition.

Governor Shirley had written to England for assistance, some time before the disclosure of his project to the general court; and a detachment from Admiral Warren's fleet in the West Indies, appeared off Canseau, the day before the arrival of the Massachusetts troops: the admiral himself soon followed, in the *Superb*, of sixty guns; and, every thing being now ready, the land forces embarked for Chapeaurouge; while the fleet, (in all, about one hundred sail,) manœuvred before Louisbourg. The landing was effected with little difficulty; and, in the course of the ensuing night, a party of four hundred men marched around to the north-east part of the harbour; and set fire to some warehouses of spiritous liquors and naval stores. The smoke was blown directly into the grand battery; and it did such signal execution, that, when thirteen of the party were returning, next day, they saw, with surprise and joy, that the flagstaff was bare, and the chimnies without smoke. An Indian was hired, for

a bottle of rum, to crawl in at an embrasure, and open the gate; and, though a detachment of the enemy was then coming to retake the fort, the thirteen retained possession, till the arrival of a reinforcement from the main body.

Fourteen nights were the troops engaged in drawing the cannon over a morass to the place of encampment, a distance of about two miles; and, when the account of the expedition was sent to England, they were not a little indignant at seeing no mention of their having worked like oxen, with straps over their shoulders, and up to their knees in mud. As this expedition had been planned by a lawyer, and was to be executed by a merchant, at the head of husbandmen and mechanics, any thing like a regular siege was not to have been expected. The soldiers laughed at such words as *zig-zag* and *epaulement*; and thought, the most eligible mode of approaching, was that of a straight line. In execution of this new principle of tactics, four hundred men assaulted the island-battery; were repulsed; and many of them taken prisoners. They all concurred in representing the besiegers as much more numerous than they were: though all was frolic in the rear of the army, the front did, indeed, look formidable; and the impression made by these reports and appearances, together with the intelligence, which was conveyed into town, that the supply ship, the *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, had been taken,

induced Duchambon, the governor, to tender a capitulation. This was the only advantage gained over France, during the whole war; and, when accounts of it reached England, the crown made baronets of Pepperel and Shirley, and the parliament readily undertook to defray the expenses.

France and England now mutually resolved to make a complete conquest of each other's possessions in America; and, in the spring of 1746, circular letters were sent to the English colonies as far as Virginia, to have in readiness as many troops as each might be able to spare. The plan of the campaign, was, to sail against Quebec, with some ships of war and the New England troops; while those of the other colonies should be collected at Albany, and march against Crown Point and Montreal. The ships of war made seven vain attempts to leave England; and the first part of the scheme was necessarily abandoned. The colonists were diverted from the last, by a threatened attack of the enemy upon Annapolis; and, before they could despatch troops for the protection of that place, New England, in particular, was greatly alarmed by the intelligence, that a formidable armament, under the Duke D'Anville, had arrived in Nova Scotia. Every effort was made to put the country in a state of defence. The militia were joined to the troops already raised; and, for six weeks, all stood in hourly



expectation of an attack; when some English prisoners, who had been set at liberty, brought the welcome news, that the French soldiers were in too much distress themselves to think of distressing others. The armament originally consisted of about forty ships of war, and about fifty-six transports; carrying three thousand troops, and forty thousand muskets for the Canadians and Indians. Many ships were lost and wrecked on the voyage; and a sweeping mortality prevailed on board of those, which had reached the place of destination. To increase their calamities, they learned, by an intercepted letter from Governor Shirley to the commander at Louisbourg, that their own squadron would probably be followed by an English fleet. The admiral shortly died: the vice-admiral killed himself: and, when M. Le Jonquiere undertook to lead the fleet against Annapolis, a violent storm dispersed the ships; and those, that did not suffer wreck, returned singly to France.

Governor Shirley now resumed the project of dislodging the French and Indians from Nova Scotia. The troops of Rhode Island and New Hampshire were prevented from joining the expedition; and the enemy was not only more numerous than those of Massachusetts,—but had the advantage of being provided with snow-shoes. The English were beaten at Minas: and promised not to bear arms for one year,

against the French in Nova Scotia. Governor Shirley next directed his attention to Crown Point. Massachusetts and New York engaged to furnish their quotas of troops: the winter was no obstacle to the governor's enthusiasm; and the enterprise was only prevented by the discreet resolution of Connecticut, to withhold her co-operation. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded in October, 1748; and New England deemed it but a poor return for the expenses, which she had incurred, that an article of *status ante bellum* compelled her to relinquish Louisbourg. Massachusetts, in particular, had issued immense quantities of paper-money. Was there a call upon the treasury? Bills of credit must answer it. Was trade decaying? It could only be revived by bills of credit. Was there any disorder in the internal economy of the province? Bills of credit were the only remedy. And bills of credit were issued in such quantities, that they had sunk to *eleven* for *one*; when the arrival of the specie, which parliament had promised, was the means not only of staying the depreciation,—but of destroying paper-money altogether. After some opposition, the general court passed an act for redeeming bills of credit, at their real value, or, in other words, for silver at fifty shillings the ounce. Not an evil, which had been predicted, was seen to attend the measure; and, on the contrary, it is said to have given commerce a very perceptible impulse for the better.

As the importance of America was daily increasing in the eyes of Europe, the question of boundaries between the colonies of different nations began to be discussed more frequently, and in greater earnest. Spain had pretensions to the whole of Georgia; and England laid claim to a part of Florida. By the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was, indeed, ceded to the English; but there was still room enough for controversy, in determining what were the boundaries of that country. The French asserted, that its eastern line was the Kennebec: the English made it embrace the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence; and the commissioners appointed by the two nations, under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were equally laborious and equally obstinate in maintaining their respective claims. Nor was this the only conflict. As if these two nations were fated to cross each other's path, in every thing, while the English colonies were advancing indefinitely from east to west, the French began to extend their own settlements transversely from north to south. In 1673, they explored the Mississippi, as far as the thirty-third degree of north latitude; and, some time afterwards, its mouth was discovered by one La Salle, a Norman; who subsequently obtained the patronage of the French court, in an attempt to make a settlement on its banks. He set sail with a few followers, in four

small vessels; arrived one hundred leagues west of the river; was soon assassinated by his own men; and they, in turn, were murdered, or dispersed, by the Spanish and Indians. Several other expeditions were undertaken, for the same purpose; but none were fortunate enough to land at the wished for place; and it was not till 1722, that a joint removal of these scattered settlements to New Orleans laid the foundation of a flourishing colony. The country was called Louisiana; and, as settlements now began to extend up the Mississippi, a plan was formed to unite them with Canada, by a concatenation of forts. England claimed the country to the South Sea: France was resolved to bound her by the Alleghany mountains; and, as usual, the controversy soon ended in a reciprocal determination of fighting it out.

There was a great disparity of numbers between the French and English colonies. Nova Scotia contained five thousand inhabitants: New Hampshire, thirty thousand: Massachusetts, two hundred and twenty thousand: Rhode Island, thirty-five thousand: Connecticut, one hundred thousand: New York, one hundred thousand: the Jerseys, sixty thousand: Pennsylvania, including Delaware, two hundred and fifty thousand: Maryland, eighty-five thousand: Virginia, eighty-five thousand: the Carolinas, seventy-five thousand: Georgia, six thousand:—in all, one million fifty-



one thousand. Canada contained but forty-five thousand: Louisiana, but seven thousand:—total, fifty-two thousand. To compensate, in part, for this numerical inferiority, the French had the advantage of being guided by one and the same hand; whereas the English were divided into separate clans, and unaccustomed to act in concert. All the Indians, except the Five Nations, were on the side of France; and, what was of still greater service to her cause, the governors of Canada had all been military men; had employed the inhabitants in erecting fortifications to command Lake Champlain, and the River St. Lawrence; and were now proceeding to complete the chain, by extending the links along the other western lakes, and down the Mississippi.

The circumstance, which served to open the quarrel, was the alleged intrusion of the *Ohio Company*; an association of influential men from England and Virginia, who had obtained a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land, in order to drive a fur trade with the Indians. The governor of Canada wrote to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, that, unless these intruders were removed from the territory of his most Christian majesty, he should be under the necessity of seizing them. The threat was disregarded; and the traders were seized. A communication was immediately opened, along French Creek and Alleghany River,

between the Ohio and Fort Presqu'Île; and troops, stationed at convenient distances, were secured, by temporary works, against any attack of small arms. The Ohio company made loud complaints: Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie laid the subject before the assembly of Virginia; and despatched Major Washington, with a letter to the French commander; in which he was required to quit the dominions of his Britannic majesty. M. Legardeur de St. Pierre transmitted the letter to the governor of Canada; whose orders, he said, he should implicitly follow. Early in the spring of 1755, Major Washington, on the death of his colonel, took the command of a regiment, raised in Virginia, for the protection of the frontiers. He defeated a party of French and Indians, under Dijonville; and was proceeding to occupy the post, at the fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, when he was met, at the Little Meadows, by a superior force; and, after a gallant defence, was compelled to surrender. The French had already erected the strong fort of Du Quesne, on the ground of which he had intended to take possession.

The provincial governors received orders from the secretary of state, to repel force by force; and, if practicable, to form a *Union* among the several colonies. Delegates had already been appointed to meet at Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the

**Five Nations:** and Governor Shirley recommended, that the subject of union should, also, be discussed at the convention. The commissioners from Massachusetts had ample powers to co-operate in the formation of a plan: those from Maryland were instructed to observe what others did; and those from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, had no instructions at all on the subject. As soon, however, as the friendship of the Indians was thought to be secured by a distribution of presents, the delegates appointed a committee, to devise some scheme for the proposed confederation;—and the committee recommended the adoption of a government analogous to that of the individual colonies. There was to be a grand council, composed of deputies from the several provinces,—and a president-general, appointed by the crown, with the power of negating the acts of the council. The Connecticut delegates alone dissented from this plan; because, as they said, it put too much power into the hands of the crown. It was rejected in England for the very opposite reason; and, in lieu of it, the minister proposed, that the several governors, with one or two of their counsellors, should meet and adopt such measures as the common safety might demand. But this scheme was defeated by a provision, that they might draw upon the British treasury for all necessary sums;

which parliament would undertake to repay, by imposing a general tax upon the colonies. It was now resolved, therefore, to carry on the war with British troops; and leave the provincial legislatures to supply such reinforcements as each was willing or able to afford.

Early in 1755, General Braddock set sail from England, with a respectable body of troops; and, about the same time, Admiral Boscawen was despatched to this country, in order to intercept a French armament, which was then fitting out for Canada. The provincial governors met General Braddock, in Virginia, on the 14th of April; and it was resolved to divide the campaign into three separate expeditions;—the first against Du Quesne, with the British, Virginia, and Maryland forces, under General Braddock;—the second against Fort Frontignac, with the Massachusetts regulars, under Governor Shirley;—the third against Crown Point, with New England and New York troops, under General William Johnson, one of the New York council. Massachusetts, in the mean time, undertook, singly, to drive the French from Nova Scotia; and, on the 20th of May, three thousand troops were despatched for the purpose, under Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow. They arrived at Annapolis Royal, on the 28th; anchored, soon after, before Fort Lawrence, in Che-



necto, with a fleet of forty sail; and, being joined by three hundred British troops, with some artillery, marched immediately against Beau Sejour. A block house, with a few cannon, and a breast-work, with a few troops behind it, opposed the passage of the Musaguash; which, according to the French, was the western limit of Nova Scotia. The passage was forced, with the loss of one man; and entrenchments were immediately opened before Beau Sejour. The garrison surrendered on the fifth day: Fort Gaspareau soon followed the example; the appearance of three twenty-gun ships induced the enemy to set fire to his works at St. Johns; and thus, in the single month of June, with the loss of but three men, the English gained possession of Nova Scotia, according to their own definition of the term.

As soon as the convention of governors was dissolved, General Braddock proceeded to the post at Wells' Creek; whence the army commenced its march, about the middle of June. Their progress was very much retarded by the necessity of cutting a road; and, lest the enemy should have time to collect in great force, the general concluded to set forward with twelve hundred select men; while Colonel Dunbar should follow slowly in the rear, with the main body and the heavy baggage. Mr. Washington's regiment had been split into separate companies; and

he had only joined the army as aid to the general. The roughness of the country prevented the advanced corps from reaching the Monongahela till the 8th of July. It was resolved to attack Du Quesne, the very next day; and Lieutenant-Colonel Gage was sent in front, with three hundred British regulars; while the general himself followed, at some distance, with the main body. He had been cautioned to provide against an ambuscade, by sending forward some provincial companies to scour the woods; but he held the provincials and the enemy in equal contempt. The Monongahela was crossed the second time, about seven miles from Du Quesne; and the army was pressing forward in an open wood, through high and thick grass,—when the front was suddenly thrown into disorder, by a volley of small arms. The main body was formed three deep, and brought to its support: the commander in chief of the enemy fell; and a cessation of the fire led General Braddock to suppose that the assailants had fled. But he was soon attacked, with redoubled fury. The van fell upon the main body: both were in utter confusion; and the general, instead of withdrawing them beyond the reach of the enemy's muskets, where their ranks might easily have been formed anew, undertook to rally them, on the very ground of attack, and in the midst of a most incessant and deadly fire. Every officer on horseback, except Mr. Washington, was

either killed or wounded: the general himself received a mortal wound, after losing three horses: the regulars fled: the provincials followed; and, had not the booty on the field arrested the pursuit of the Indians, hardly a single soldier could have escaped to carry home the intelligence. Sixty-four officers, out of eighty-five, and about half of the privates, were killed or wounded. General Braddock died in Dunbar's camp; and the army marched back to Philadelphia.

The expedition against Crown Point did not turn out quite so disastrously. Much delay was occasioned by the distracted councils of so many different governments; and it was not till the last of August, that General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. The French squadron had eluded Admiral Boscawen; and, as soon as it arrived at Quebec, Baron Dieskau, the commander, resolved to march immediately against Oswego, with his own twelve hundred regulars, and about six hundred Canadians and Indians. The news of General Johnson's movement determined him to change his plan; and to lead his forces directly against the American camp. General Johnson called for reinforcements: eight hundred troops, raised as a corps of reserve by Massachusetts, were immediately ordered to his assistance; and the same colony undertook to raise an

additional number of two thousand men. Colonel Williams was sent forward, with one thousand men, to amuse and reconnoitre the enemy. He met them, four miles from the camp; offered battle; and was defeated. Another detachment shared the same fate; and the French were now within one hundred and fifty yards of the camp; when a halt for a short time enabled the Americans to recover their alarm, and to make good use of their artillery through the fallen trees, behind which they were posted. Dieskau advanced to the charge; but he was so firmly received, that the Indians and militia gave way and fled: he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars; and, in the ardent pursuit which ensued, he was himself mortally wounded, and made prisoner. A scouting party had, in the mean time, taken the enemy's baggage; and, when the retreating army came up, the same party attacked it so successfully from behind the trees, that the panic-struck soldiers dropped all their accoutrements, and fled, in the utmost confusion, for their posts on the lakes. This was called a great victory. The king made General Johnson a baronet, and the parliament gave him five hundred pounds sterling. But the colonies derived no essential benefit from the expedition. The soldiers were in want of clothes and provisions; and a council of war determined to employ the remainder of the time in fortifying the camp.



Massachusetts was, at first, very urgent for the prosecution of the campaign; but, when its commissioners met those of Connecticut, and the lieutenant-governor and council of New York, it was determined to discharge all, except six hundred of General Johnson's army; and to employ those six hundred in garrisoning forts Edward and William Henry. The French occupied themselves in fortifying Ticonderoga.

The campaign against Niagara, and Frontignac, was still less fruitful of glory, or of gain. Governor Shirley did not reach Oswego till late in August; and a considerable time was afterwards spent in ascertaining the strength of the enemy, at the two posts, which he designed to attack. He had, in all, about fifteen hundred men: it was resolved, for the present, to proceed against Niagara alone; and between six and seven hundred troops were detached for the purpose. Just as they were about to embark, however, the rains set in, and put an entire stop to the whole undertaking. Governor Shirley returned to Albany with about half of his men. And thus ended the campaign of 1755; which, from the decided superiority of the English forces, seemed, at first, to promise so very different a result. It had this good effect, that it made the colonists feel, more sensibly than ever, the want of some superintending general government. Each particular legislature had been left to furnish its own supplies of

troops and funds. Each colony imagined itself to have furnished more than its proportion: all, therefore, thought themselves abused by the mother country; and, with, perhaps, a single exception, none were disposed to engage, or to persevere, in the enterprise, with the requisite promptitude and cheerfulness. The consequence, as we have seen, was the total failure of the campaign; and the consequence of that, was the exposure of the whole frontier, as far as Carolina, to the ravages of the Indians.

At the close of the campaign, Governor Shirley was appointed commander in chief of all the king's forces in North America. The governors of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, held a council of war at Albany: and it was resolved to employ, next year, ten thousand men against Crown Point; six thousand against Niagara, and three thousand against Du Quesne; while about two thousand more should ascend the Kennebec, and keep the eastern part of Canada in alarm. It was a part of the plan, also, to make an attack upon Ticonderoga, as soon as the ice on the lake should be strong enough to sustain the transportation of stores. But, as the season proved unusually mild, this enterprise was relinquished; and general Shirley gave himself exclusively to the preparations for the other parts of the campaign. Major-General Winslow was appointed to lead the

expedition against Crown Point. He was a popular officer; and the colonists felt a deep interest in the expedition: but, for the want of an established financial system, (their only taxes were upon lands and polls,) the requisite funds were raised with difficulty, and the recruiting service made very slow progress. Only seven thousand men assembled at the posts on Lake George. General Winslow declared, that, without more forces, he could not undertake the expedition; and it would probably have been abandoned, had he not been reinforced by the timely arrival of some British troops. They came over with General Abercrombie, who had superseded General Shirley; and who was soon after superseded by the Earl of Loudoun. These revolutions of office produced some unpleasant contests for priority of rank. General Winslow asserted frankly, that the provincials would never be commanded by British officers: and the Earl of Loudoun seriously propounded the question, whether the colonial troops, armed with his majesty's arms, would refuse obedience to his majesty's commands and to his majesty's commanders? He was answered in the affirmative; and, when he understood, that the New England troops, in particular, had enlisted under the condition of being led by their own officers, he agreed to let those troops act separately.

While the English were adjusting these differences,

and debating whether it would be expedient to attack Fort Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, marched against Oswego with about five thousand French, Canadians, and Indians. His artillery played, with such effect, upon the fort, that it was soon declared untenable; and, to avoid an assault, the garrison, who were sixteen hundred in number, and had stores for five months, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The fort had been an object of considerable jealousy to the Five Nations; and Montcalm made a wise use of his conquest, by demolishing it in their presence. The English and American army was now thrown upon the defensive. Instead of attacking Ticonderoga, General Winslow was ordered to fortify his own camp: Major-General Webb, with fourteen hundred regulars, took post near Wood Creek; and Sir William Johnson, with one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The colonists were now called upon for reinforcements; and, as parliament had distributed\* among them one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the last year's expenses, they were enabled to answer the call, with, perhaps, more promptitude than was an-

\* To Massachusetts, fifty-four thousand pounds; to Connecticut, twenty-six thousand; to New York, fifteen thousand; to New Hampshire, eight thousand; to Rhode Island, seven thousand; to New Jersey, five thousand.



ticipated. The recruits were on their way to the camp,—when intelligence of the small-pox at Albany frightened them all to their homes again. The other provincials were equally alarmed; and all, except a New York regiment, were dismissed. Thus terminated the second campaign. The expedition up the Kennebec had been abandoned; that against Niagara was not commenced; and not even a preparation had been made for the one against Du Quesne.

In a council of the northern governors, held at Boston, about the middle of January, 1757, Lord Loudoun attributed the failure of the campaign to the remissness of the colonies. He said, that the provincials had not realized his anticipations, either in numbers, or in quality; that his predecessor had not reported to him the actual state of the forts and garrisons; that the legislatures had answered his requisitions of assistance with nothing but empty votes; and that, had it not been for the arrival of the Highlanders, the country must have been overrun and subdued. He proposed, therefore, that four thousand men should be raised by New England;—eighteen hundred, by Massachusetts; fourteen hundred, by Connecticut; four hundred and fifty, by Rhode Island; and three hundred and fifty, by New Hampshire. Proportional requisitions were made upon New York and New Jersey; and, notwithstanding the disasters

of the two first campaigns, the colonists were still in hopes of making a successful attack upon Canada. About the first of July, Admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships, and a body of five thousand men, under George Viscount Howe; and, on the 6th, Lord Loudoun sailed from New York to join them, with his six thousand regulars. Instead of attempting, as formerly, to assail the whole frontier of Canada, the commanders had resolved to concentrate their forces against the single point of Louisbourg; but, unfortunately, the arrival of a fleet from Brest added six thousand men, and seventeen line of battle ships, to the strength of that town. The enterprise was postponed till next year: the fleet and army arrived at New York in August and the provincials were immediately dismissed. In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm had laid siege to Fort William Henry, with nine thousand men. The place was garrisoned with three thousand: its fortifications were strong; and General Webb was in the neighbourhood, at Fort Edward, with an army of four thousand men. With all these advantages on his side, Colonel Monroe held out but six days: and the arrival of the army at New York was, perhaps, the only thing which prevented General Webb from following the example.

The army went into winter quarters; and Lord

Loudoun engaged in a quarrel with Massachusetts. The general court had provided barracks, on Castle Island, for a regiment of Highlanders, which had been expected at Boston. Some recruiting officers soon afterwards arrived from Nova Scotia; and, protesting, that their regiments would never be filled up, if the men must be lodged in these barracks, they required the justices of the peace to furnish quarters, according to the act of parliament. The justices denied, that the act of parliament extended to this country. Lord Loudoun wrote the court a letter; and asserted roundly, that it did; that, moreover, he had ‘used gentleness and patience’ long enough; and that, unless the requisitions were complied with, in forty-eight hours from the receipt of his letter, he should be ‘under the necessity’ of ordering ‘into Boston the ‘three battalions from New York, Long Island, and ‘Connecticut; and, if more were wanting, he had two ‘in the Jerseys at hand, beside those in Pennsylvania.’ The general court now passed an act very similar to that of parliament, on the subject of recruits: but it did not fully answer Lord Loudoun’s expectations; nor did he fail to let them know it, in a second epistle. The answer of the general court was merely a reiteration of what we have so often heard from the same body. They asserted their rights as Englishmen; said, they had conformed to the act of parlia-

ment, as nearly as the case would admit; and declared, that it was their misfortune, if a strict adherence to their duty should give offence to Lord Loudoun. He, in turn, applauded the zeal of the province in the service of his majesty; affected to rely on its compliance with his wishes; and countermanded his orders for the march of the troops. The general court sent his excellency a concluding message; in which they asserted, that they were entirely dependent on parliament; that its acts were the rule of all their judicial proceedings; that its authority had never been questioned; and that, if they had not made this avowal 'in times past, it was because there had been no occasion for it.' Judge Marshall seems to think, that this language was sincere; but Mr. Minot attributes it to the desire of the court to keep friends with parliament, till they were reimbursed for the expenses, which they had incurred during the war. The truth is probably between the two opinions.

By retaining the possession of Du Quesne, the French still kept their ascendancy over the Indians: by destroying Fort Oswego, they had gained the dominion of those waters, which connect Canada with Louisiana; and, by capturing Fort William Henry, they had secured the gate, if we may so call it, between Canada and the British provinces. The English were strangely unsuccessful in Europe, as well as



in America; and there were not wanting those who imagined, that the nation had lost its character, and must soon lose its importance. It was a time, which called for all the vigorous powers, and the indefatigable application, of such a man as Pitt; who, by showing himself the minister of the nation, and not the leader of a party,—and by steadily and skilfully directing the vast resources of the country to the single object of national aggrandizement,—was enabled to carry his sinking and desperate countrymen through all their accumulated difficulties. He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter, in 1757, that, by May, of the next year, Massachusetts had seven thousand, Connecticut, five thousand, and New Hampshire, three thousand, troops, prepared to take the field. The zeal of Massachusetts was particularly ardent. The people of Boston supported taxes, which took away two-thirds of the income on real estate: one half of the effective men in the province were on some sort of military duty;\* and, what is still more extraordinary, the transports for carrying the troops to Halifax were ready to sail, in fourteen days from the time of their engagement. The mother country

\* A great proportion of the seamen and artificers, as well as of the troops on the frontiers, were from this colony.

was not less active. While her fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, she despatched Admiral Boscawen to Halifax, with a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of twelve thousand men. Lord Loudoun was superseded by General Abercrombie; who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter upon the campaign with about fifty thousand men.

It was resolved to direct one expedition against Du Quesne; a second against Crown Point; and the third against Louisbourg. By the 2d of June, General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen were before the latter place, with fourteen thousand troops, twenty ships of the line, and eighteen frigates. So successfully had England employed her naval superiority, that Chevalier De Drucourt had received no reinforcements from France; and, besides five ships of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk at the mouth of the harbour, he was obliged to oppose, or rather to await, this formidable armament, with only twenty-five hundred regulars, and about six hundred militia. The English and American army landed at Cormoran Creek; and General Wolfe was immediately despatched, with two thousand men, to seize Light-House Point,—an eminence, occupied by the enemy, which, in a measure, commands the ships in the harbour, and the fortifications

in the town. It was soon crowned with several strong batteries of heavy guns: other batteries were erected on the opposite side of the town; and, the approaches of the army being slow, a heavy and incessant cannonade was kept up. A bomb, from Light-House Point, set fire to one of the enemy's ships; which communicated the flames to two others; and all three were blown up, one after the other. Next a detachment of six hundred seamen, in boats, attacked the two remaining ships of the line; destroyed one; and towed off the other. The English were now in complete possession of the harbour: several practical breaches had been made in the enemy's works; and the town was declared to be no longer tenable. The governor proposed a capitulation similar to the one made at Port Mahon; but the English insisted upon the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war; and, though Drucourt at first rejected such humiliating terms, a petition from the inhabitants induced him to yield his acceptance. Cape Breton was an important conquest, not only as a strong naval and military position,—but as a sort of vantage-ground for a successful descent upon Quebec.

The expedition against Ticonderoga was commanded by General Abercrombie; who embarked on Lake George with fourteen thousand men, in one hundred and twenty-five whale-boats, and nine hun-



dred batteaux. The advanced guard of the enemy, posted in a log-camp, on the west side of the lake, was soon forced to retreat; and, after experiencing considerable difficulties in marching through the woods, General Abercrombie arrived and encamped at the Saw-Mills, two miles distant from Ticonderoga. In front of the fort, the enemy had nearly five thousand men posted behind a breastwork, about nine feet in height, and rendered almost inapproachable by fallen trees. The fort itself was garrisoned with the usual number of men; and possessed the natural advantage of having the water on three sides, and a morass on the fourth. General Abercrombie sent an engineer across the river, to ascertain the state of the works. He reported, that they were imperfect, and, of course, practicable; and the army was immediately marshalled for an assault;—the rangers, light infantry, and right wing of the provincials, in front; the regulars, who were chiefly relied on, in the rear. The troops marched to the storm with great intrepidity; but, falling among the trees, they only became marks for the fire of the enemy; and, after seeing their courage in vain exerted for four hours, the general was under the necessity of calling them off. The loss of nearly two thousand men, in killed and wounded, was the fruits of this temerity.

General Abercrombie immediately re-crossed Lake



George; and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga. Colonel Bradstreet proposed to finish the campaign with an expedition against Frontignac; a fort, which, by being placed on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario, was the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It served, also, to keep the Indians in subjection; and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late in the evening of the 25th of August, Colonel Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars. The French had not anticipated an attack at this point; and the garrison consisted of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indian auxiliaries. It was impossible to hold out long: Colonel Bradstreet posted his mortars so near the fort, that every shell took effect; and the commander was very soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The booty consisted of sixty pieces of cannon, great numbers of small arms, provisions, military stores, goods to a large amount, and nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns. Colonel Bradstreet destroyed the fort and vessels; re-crossed the Ontario, and returned to the army.

Had it not been for this fortunate enterprise, the unaccountable delay in preparing the expedition

against Du Quesne would, probably, have left that fort, a third time, in possession of the enemy. It was not until June, that the commander, General Forbes, set out from Philadelphia: it was September, before Colonel Washington, with the Virginia regulars, was ordered to join the main body at Ray's Town; and it was as late as November, when, owing to the difficulties of cutting a new road, the army appeared before Du Quesne. The garrison, deserted by the Indians, and without adequate means of defence, had escaped down the Ohio, the evening before the arrival of the British; who had only to take possession, therefore, in the king's name. The fort was supplied with a new garrison; and the name changed to Pittsburg. The Indians, as usual, joined the strongest side. A peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were once more relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping knives.

The advantages of this campaign, though very important, had been purchased with almost the last effort of provincial strength; and, when a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the several governors, induced the colonies to resolve upon making the most vigorous preparation for the next, they soon discovered, that their resources were, by no means, commensurate with their zeal. Massachusetts, the

leading province, could only vote *five*, instead of *seven*, thousand men; and the other colonies followed the example, in a proportional diminution of their respective quotas. By a letter of expostulation from Major-General Amherst, who had superseded Abercrombie, the legislature of Massachusetts were persuaded to raise an additional force of fifteen hundred men; though, from a decrease in the population of the colony,—occasioned partly, as they state, by the frequent resort of great numbers to the various branches of his majesty's service, partly by the deaths of the last campaign, and partly by the emigrations to provinces, where taxes were less onerous,—it was necessary to secure a voluntary enlistment of the new troops, by holding out the lure of a double bounty. Notwithstanding these embarrassments, the leaders of the British army were resolved to signalize the year 1759, by the complete conquest of all Canada. And, so assured were they of success, that they talked as if they were rather preparing to set out on a journey, than to enter upon a campaign. As soon as the St. Lawrence should be open in the spring, Brigadier-General Wolfe, escorted by a strong fleet, was to start from Louisbourg, and lay siege to Quebec. Major-General Amherst, with the main army, was to march by the way of Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Richelieu; descend the St. Lawrence; and form a junction with

General Wolfe: while General Prideaux, with the third division, was to capture Fort Niagara; sail thence for Montreal; and, after taking that place, join the grand army before Quebec. Had the elements been laid, and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding; but, as it was, only the one-third could ever be carried into execution.

Early in the winter, General Amherst set about the preparations for his part of the enterprise: but it was not till the last of May, that his troops were assembled at Albany; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were enabled to withstand so great a force as that of General Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned: Crown Point followed the example; and the only way, in which the enemy seemed to think of preserving their province, was, by retarding the English army, with shows of resistance, till the season of operation should be past; or till, by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. From Crown Point, they retreated to Ile-aux-Noix; where, General Amherst understood, there was a body of between three and four



thousand men, and a fleet of several armed vessels. The English made great exertions to secure a naval superiority; and, had it not been for a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, they might, perhaps, have wintered in Quebec, instead of being obliged to go into quarters at Crown Point.

General Prideaux embarked at Oswego, early in July; landed, soon after, within three miles of Niagara; and immediately commenced a formal investment of the fort. The garrison was reinforced by detachments from Detroit, Venango, and Presqu'Île. But, as the enemy placed considerable dependence upon some Indian auxiliaries, and well knew, that savages are little calculated for sedentary warfare, it was determined to risk an immediate battle. On the morning of the 24th, the garrison marched out; were promptly met by a body of the English; and, being deserted by the Indians, were driven back to the fort, and obliged to capitulate. General Prideaux had been killed during the siege; and General Gage was sent to supply his place. But, for some undiscovered reason,—perhaps, because the Marquis de Vaudreuil lay in the vicinity of Montreal, with a reported army of five thousand men,—it was deemed inexpedient to attempt the farther prosecution of this part of the campaign.

The least promising part of the whole scheme was.

by far, the most successfully executed. Late in June, under convoy of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, General Wolfe landed on the island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, with an army of eight thousand men, and a formidable train of artillery. He had now a fair opportunity to estimate the difficulties of his undertaking. The idea of reducing an extensive town, which Nature and Art seem to have vied in fortifying, and which, besides its permanent works, was defended by armed vessels and floating batteries, in front, and by a powerful army, on what was reasonably presumed to be the only vulnerable side,—could not but damp the ardour of even so bold and sanguine a leader as Wolfe. He could not think of attacking it on the south; for no eight thousand men could break through the fleet; overcome the fortifications on the beach; force their way up a high, perpendicular bank; and carry the strong forts and batteries, with which it was crowned. On the east,—besides the river St. Charles, which was filled with batteries, and had a strong boom across its mouth,—there was an army of about six or seven thousand men, commanded by the formidable Marquis de Montcalm. And the west and north were deemed impregnable, both from their artificial fortifications, and from the high and steep precipice, which extended along the St. Lawrence. A few houses were burned, by some batteries erected at Point Levi,

on the south side of the last mentioned river: but the distance was so great, that little injury could be done to the fortifications; and the only means, which then appeared, of reducing the town, was, by defeating Montcalm in a general action. The right wing of his army was upon the St. Charles; the left, upon the Montmorency; and the rear was covered by an almost impenetrable wood. After vainly exerting all his military skill, to seduce the marquis from this favourable position, General Wolfe resolved to use the more effectual and speedy method of attacking his entrenchments. Thirteen companies of English grenadiers, with a part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were ordered to land at the mouth of the Montmorency; while Generals Townshend and Murray, with two divisions more, should prepare to cross the river a little farther up. Wolfe, at first, imagined, that he might draw Montcalm from his entrenchments, by assailing a detached and unprotected redoubt, upon the water's edge: but, as that work was evacuated at his approach, and as some confusion was observed in the French camp, he determined to assault it, without further delay. Townshend and Murray were directed to be ready for crossing the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were drawn up, on the beach, with orders to wait till the remaining brigades should be landed, for their support: but,

disregarding the command, they rushed forward, at once, with the most eager impetuosity;—and were soon driven back, in disorder, by the deliberate and steady fire of the enemy. They were formed again, in the rear of the main army, which was now advancing: but all further effort was fruitless: the original plan of attack had been disconcerted; and the general saw the necessity of ordering a retreat.

He now thought his great object might be attained, in a shorter way, by destroying the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm, with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, made two vigorous, but abortive, attempts to land; and, though more successful, in the third, he did nothing more than to burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land, or by water; and the commander in chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops. General Murray brought the intelligence of Amherst's and Prideaux's success; and Wolfe could not but compare his own disastrous efforts with their better fortunes. From his first appearance before Quebec, he had entertained but slight hopes of being able to reduce it: every subsequent attempt had too faithfully realized his forebodings; and, now, as he could expect no assistance from



General Amherst, till the season of operation would be past, he seemed to be shut out from all prospect of success. His health began to be seriously affected: his sighs were deep and frequent; and he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the infamy of discomfiture.\* All rational hopes of a prosperous issue to the enterprize, were entirely at an end; but he was still upheld by a desperate consciousness, that something must be done, not only to retrieve his own honour,—but to satisfy the expectations of the British people, and to support the character of British arms. It still remained to be discovered, experimentally, whether the town might not be assailable on the west side. The camp at Orleans was abandoned; a part of the army transferred to Point Levi; and a part, to a station farther up the river. Montcalm was sensible, that Quebec was by far the weakest on the two sides, that look into the country: yet it was evidently unsafe to relinquish his original position, while the St. Lawrence was commanded by his enemy; and the only prudent measure that seemed to be left, was, to send a detachment of fifteen hundred men to watch the motions, and, if possible, to prevent the landing, of the English.

Baffled and harassed, in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise, in one way or the other, by a single, bold

\* See Note (F).

and desperate effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment, in flat-bottomed boats, fell silently down, with the stream, to a point about a mile above the city. The beach was shelving; the bank, high and precipitous; and the only narrow path, by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Colonel Howe, with the van, soon clambered up the rocks; drove away the guard; and seized upon the battery. The army landed about an hour before day; and, by daybreak, was marshalled on the heights of Abraham. Montcalm could not, at first, believe the intelligence: but, as soon as he was assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle, which it was no longer possible to avoid. The right wing of the English army was under General Monkton; the left, under General Murray. The Louisbourg grenadiers covered the right flank; Howe's infantry, the rear and the left; and Webb's regiment, separated, by wide spaces, into eight subdivisions, was the corps of reserve. The movements of the enemy indicated a design to flank the left; and General Townshend was ordered to double that part of the line with Amherst's battalion, and the two battalions of Royal Americans. The centre of the French army was wholly composed of Europeans;

and the two wings, of Europeans and provincials. The French had two field pieces; and the English, one. The two commanders in chief were opposite to each other; Wolfe in the right, and Montcalm in the left, of their respective armies.

The main body of the French was preceded by fifteen hundred militia and Indians; who annoyed the English with an incessant fire from behind the bushes. Montcalm led briskly to the charge: the English were ordered to reserve their fire, till he was within forty yards: almost every shot took effect; and the left and centre of the French soon began to waver and give way. Wolfe fell, as he was advancing at the head of his troops, with charged bayonets. Monckton, who took his place, soon shared his fate; and the command devolved upon General Townshend. He was called from the left, just as he had advanced a part of his troops to frustrate the enemy's intention of turning the flank. Colonel Howe had stationed two companies behind a copse, on the left; and, when the right wing of the French advanced against the English, he rushed unexpectedly upon their flank, and threw them into confusion. It was at this moment that Townshend had completed the discomfiture of the enemy, by advancing a body of his men. His first exertions, on the right, were to restore the line, which had been broken by too eager a pursuit; for, after having lost their first

and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following the example,—when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men, who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him: but he retired; and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded, together, of the English army, did not amount to six hundred men.

But, amongst this number, was their heroic commander in chief. In the beginning of the action, Wolfe received a ball in the wrist:—he bound it up in his handkerchief; and continued to aid and animate his troops. A second ball struck him in the groin:—he paid no attention to it. A third passed through his breast; and he reluctantly permitted himself to be carried into the rear. He was reclining his head upon the arm of one of his officers; when he was aroused by the distant sound of, ‘They fly! they fly!’—‘Who fly?’—‘The French.’—‘Then I depart content.’—Nor did Montcalm die less heroically. He was told, that his wound was mortal; and that he could survive but a few hours. ‘So much the better: I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.’ The



expression was prophetic; for, although the town was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal; yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank, to get up his heavy artillery, for a siege; when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition, that, during the war, they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left, under General Murray; and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The English resolved to follow up their advantage; and the French were bent upon retrieving their loss. Chiefly by the exhortations and promises of the English minister, the colonial legislatures were induced to vote, for 1760, the same number of forces as they had furnished this year; while M. de Levi, the successor of Montcalm, was devising a plan to recapture Quebec, before those forces could be brought into the scene of action. Relinquishing his first design of carrying it by coup-de-main, he descended the St. Lawrence, in April, under the convoy of six frigates; and, taking a station near Sillery, on the west side of the town, prepared to commence the operations of a siege. General Murray's troops had been reduced, by sickness, to three thousand effective men. The town was extensive; and the inhabitants were secretly hostile. So few troops could not well sustain

a siege, under such circumstances: a battle under the walls, might defeat the enemy at once; and, even if the attempt should fail, the town might still be regained and defended. General Murray led to the attack, with confidence and impetuosity: the enemy received him with firmness; and, soon finding his men in danger of being outflanked and enclosed, he was obliged to throw himself upon his last alternative. M. de Levi opened his trenches, that very evening: but it was a fortnight before he could bring up his heavy artillery; and, in the mean time, he was alarmed to observe, that the industry of General Murray had mounted a train of guns, still more formidable than his own. The appearance of a British fleet completed his dismay: he raised the siege; and hastily retreated to Montreal.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil called in all his detachments; and seemed determined, if possible, to make a final stand against the further progress of the English. The English, on the other hand, were resolved upon the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada; and, rejecting the more gallant policy of endeavouring to sweep it away, by nearly an equality of force, General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with a superiority of numbers. Almost on the same day, the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before

Montreal: a capitulation was immediately signed; and Detroit, Michilimackinac,—all New France, in a word, soon after, surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home; and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges. Thus terminated a war, which was of the most serious importance, not only on account of the territory in dispute,—but from the unheard of cruelties, which the savages, on each side, were mutually excited to perpetrate. The French began by endeavouring to surround the English colonists; and chain them to a narrow strip of country along the Atlantic. They ended with giving up every acre of what was then the only important territory in North America.

France had been equally unsuccessful on both continents; and, exhausted by her strenuous and continued efforts to merit better fortune, she was, at length, induced to make overtures of peace; and to propose, as the basis of negotiation, the principle, so favourable to Great Britain,—that (*uti possidetis*) each party should retain whatever it had conquered. England could not help consenting to a treaty upon such grounds; and negotiations were opened both at London and at Paris. No material differences occurred; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train of adjustment,—when the treaty was suddenly broken off, by an anomalous attempt of the court of Ver-

sailles, to mingle the politics of Spain and of Germany with the disputes between France and Great Britain. A secret family compact between the Bourbons, to support each other through evil and good, in peace and in war, had rendered France unsolicitous of peace, and Spain very desirous of war. The former contrived to arrest the progress of a negotiation, which she had commenced under such humiliating auspices; and the latter assumed a tone of insolence, which ill accorded with her submissive and impotent neutrality, through all the previous stages of the war. As the interests of the two nations were now identified, it only remained for England to make a formal declaration of hostilities against Spain. It was done, on both sides, in 1761: and, as the colonies of New England were chiefly interested in the reduction of the West India Islands, they furnished a considerable body of troops to carry on the war. A large fleet was despatched from England: the land forces amounted, in all, to about sixteen thousand: and, before the end of the second year, Great Britain had taken the important city of Havanna, the key of the Mexican Gulf; together with the French provinces of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Caribbee Islands. Preliminary articles of peace were now signed at Paris. The Havanna was exchanged for the Floridas: France ceded to Great



Britain, all the conquests, which the latter had made, in North America: and it was stipulated, between the two crowns, that the boundary-line of their respective dominions, in the new hemisphere, should run along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source as far as the Iberville; and along the middle of that river, and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

## CHAPTER VI.

Indian Wars—Rupture with the Cherokees—Conduct of Governor Littleton—Expedition to Fort Prince George—Treaty of Peace—Small Pox in the Army—Reception of Governor Littleton—Infraction of the Treaty by the Indians—Murder of the Hostages, and Massacre of the Frontier Settlers—Indian mode of Warfare—Expedition of Colonel Montgomery—Battle of Etchœ—Retreat of the Army—Surrender of Fort Loudoun—Colonel Grant's Expedition—Second Battle of Etchœ—Barbarities of the Army—Peace with the Cherokees—War with the Western Indians—Capture of the Frontier Posts—Battle of Detroit—Expedition of Colonel Bouquet—Battle near Turtle Creek—Defeat of the Indians—Peace.

**THE** colonists had scarcely done rejoicing at the peace with France, when they were involved in new wars with the Indians. A party of the Cherokees had assisted in the reduction of Fort Du Quesne; and, having lost several of their horses, thought it no wrong to replace them with such others as they found running at large in the woods. The Virginians had, throughout the expedition, treated them with the most haughty contempt; and, glad of an opportunity to vent their hatred of the whole race, they fell upon the unsuspecting warriors; murdered some, and made prisoners of others. The frontier settlers soon felt the

impolicy of this outrage. The whole nation of Cherokees was in arms. Fort Loudoun, which had been established among them, at their own request, was soon invested on all sides; and perhaps the manes of twelve or fourteen Indians were not appeased by the sacrifice of less than ten times the number of whites.

Governor Littleton, of South Carolina, immediately despatched orders for calling out the militia; and, with such troops as were at hand, prepared to march into the enemy's country. But the vengeance of the Cherokees seems now to have been glutted; and they sent thirty chiefs to negotiate a treaty. Governor Littleton received them with an insolent speech; and, when Ouconnostota was beginning to reply, commanded him to be silent. Determined upon war, he feared, his purpose would be shaken by a *talk* of peace; and, under the pretext of conveying the chiefs safely back to their own people, he thrust them into the rear of his army; put them under a captain's guard; and, when arrived at Fort Prince George, shut the whole thirty in a cabin, which could not conveniently hold seven.

Though he had about fourteen hundred men, he now found them so raw and ill appointed, that he could not hope for a brilliant campaign; and, intending to make up the quarrel in a more amicable manner, he was afraid, his overtures might be refused, or

the negotiation impeded, by suffering the Indians to communicate with the chiefs, whom they had deputed as peace-makers. He sent for Attakullakulla, or Little Carpenter, the principal sachem of the tribe, who was an old friend of the English; and who, though fervently devoted to the interests of his own people, did not always think, that those interests were promoted by war. He readily obeyed the summons; and, having just returned, with captives, from an inroad upon the French, supposed, that one of them might be an acceptable present to the governor. Mr. Littleton returned him a long and vainglorious harangue; talking of victories, which had never been gained; boasting of strength, which he did not possess; and fulminating menaces, which could never be executed. Attakullakulla was an old warrior; and he had little hopes of making peace with a man, who seemed more inclined to deliver speeches, than enter upon a treaty; and who had come with a prepossession, that all was right on one side, and all wrong on the other.

He told the governor, that the cause of the war was the ill treatment of the Virginians; that, as he always had been, so he wished to continue, a friend of the English; and that, though his terms of peace were extravagantly unreasonable, something might possibly be done, if he would release a few of thirty chiefs, whom he had confined. Ouconnostota and



two others were accordingly set free; but, as if Mr. Littleton was afraid, he had compromitted his self-consistency, by doing an act of justice, he ordered two Cherokees, who were delivered up next day, to be put immediately in irons. A sight like this dispersed the tribe in a moment; and even the Little Carpenter, who would have made peace upon almost any terms, now retired in despair, and was determined to let the mischief take its own course. The governor repented; and again sent for Attakullakulla. All his talk was now of peace; and, on the 26th of December, 1760, the treaty was concluded on these terms:—that twenty of the chiefs, already in prison, should be retained, until an equal number of the Indian murderers should be surrendered; that there should be a free trade, as had been usual; that the Cherokees should hold no communion with the enemies of Great Britain; and that they should take, or kill, every Frenchman, who might come among them.

As if to curse this unequal treaty, it was scarcely finished, when a small-pox broke out in the governor's army. The surgeons had not provided for such a disease: the men, struck with a panic, avoided all contact with one another; and, each taking his separate route for home, all suffered exceedingly by hunger and fatigue. Late in the evening of January 5th, 1760, the governor returned to Charleston; and,

though a musket had not been fired, nor a treaty made, upon which any reliance could be placed, he was considered as a conqueror, and hailed with addresses, illuminations, and bonfires.

But the joy of the Carolinians was as transient as it was ill-timed. The harangues of the Little Carpenter, in favour of peace, had destroyed his influence among the Cherokees. Ouconnostota now took the lead; and, still smarting with the indignities of Governor Littleton's treatment, he killed the first fourteen men, whom he encountered, and, on the 2d of February, surrounded Fort Prince George. As a regular siege was not among the tactics of his countrymen, he attempted the reduction of the fort by one of those perfidious tricks, which are so high in the list of savage wisdom and virtue. On the 16th of February, two Indian women, well known in the fort, were sent on the other side of the river to decoy the garrison. Lieutenant Dougherty was the first to fall into the snare. While he stood talking with the women, Ouconnostota came up; and, pretending to have something of importance to communicate, desired, that he would call out the commanding officer. Captain Cotymore, with his ensign and interpreter, were as easily caught as Lieutenant Dougherty. The chief told him, that he was going to Charleston, and wanted a white man as his safe-guard. The captain readily granted his

request: Ouconnostota said he would go and catch a horse; and, swinging a bridle over his head, a volley of thirty muskets was poured upon Cotymore and his attendants. He received a mortal wound, in the left breast; and the ensign and interpreter were both shot in different parts of the leg. Orders were immediately given to put the hostages in irons: one soldier was killed, and another wounded, in the attempt; and the exasperated garrison fell upon the chiefs and despatched them at once. The Indians attempted to carry the fort by storm; and, being mortified with a defeat here, they turned against the defenceless frontiers, and spared no living thing, whose skin was white.

It is not one of the least horrors of savage warfare, that you can never tell where to find your enemy. Indians seldom march in a body; never remain long in a place; and entirely differ from us, in their notions of topographical advantage. The chiefs designate some point of rendezvous: the tribe is divided into parties of ten or a dozen; and, each party setting out upon the run, and in a different route, they all appear upon the spot, at nearly the same instant. Having finished their work here, another place is appointed: and it is utterly impossible to watch their movements, or to trace their operations.

This mode of warfare was now practised, most

effectually, upon the inhabitants of South Carolina. The frontiers were soon rendered entirely desolate: the colonists found it impossible to protect themselves; and, General Amherst being urgently solicited to lend them assistance, Colonel Montgomery was, at length, despatched with twelve hundred chosen men. Governor Bull, who superseded Mr. Littleton, made every exertion to ensure the success of their arms. Several companies of gentlemen volunteered for the service: North Carolina and Virginia furnished a corps of rangers; and, in the beginning of June, 1760, the united forces commenced their march for Twelve Mile River. The Indians saw, that little impression could be made upon so large a body; and, excepting one or two slight skirmishes, the provincials found no opposition in laying waste the lower settlements.

Colonel Montgomery next marched to the relief of Fort Prince George; and, imagining, that he had now convinced the savages of the folly of continuing the war, he invited them, by message, to come and treat of peace. But he was still to learn another trait in the Indian character. They had suffered his fine troops to riot upon their lower settlements: the middle and upper were yet to be overcome; and, before that could be accomplished, the Indians knew, that the provincials would be exhausted, and separated from their supplies, while they would be augmenting their



numbers, and recruiting their strength. They smiled at the offer of peace; and, on the 23d of June, Colonel Montgomery set off, to repeat his chastisement.

It seemed as if a new race of people had sprung up. The bloody tomahawk had gone over the hills: the Cherokees flocked to the scene of action; and the troops could scarcely advance a step, which was not disputed. The Indians watched all their movements; took advantage of every exposure; and, when they had nearly reached Etchoe, between eight and nine, in the morning of the 27th, the yells of five hundred savages forbade them to proceed. The next salutation was a furious attack upon all sides. Colonel Montgomery immediately marshalled his troops; who received the shock with much firmness; and, though fatigued with difficult marches, maintained a spirited fire for nearly five hours. At length, the Royal Scots were suddenly brought into the thickest part of the battle; and, because the Indians gave way, it was supposed, they were defeated. The army marched into Etchoe; but their piquets were again attacked with augmented fierceness; and, though the Indians were repulsed, it is hardly consistent with Colonel Montgomery's claim to the victory, in all these actions, that he now ordered a retreat.

His troops reached Fort Prince George on the 1st of July; and, as he had been ordered to strike a sudden

blow, and return to join the expedition against Canada, he immediately led them to Charleston, and prepared to embark for the north. All the entreaties of the inhabitants could not persuade him to leave but one hundred men; and, while the province, having already expended fifty thousand pounds sterling, was now less able, than before, to defend itself, the only effect of his enterprise, had been, to increase the exasperation of the savages. More than a month before his departure, Fort Loudoun had been invested; and the garrison reduced to the daily allowance of one pint of meal and two ounces of spoiled meat. It was now left completely defenceless; and, on the 7th of August, the commander surrendered. The Indians promised to spare their lives; but, out of one hundred and eighty men, only twenty-six escaped with the privilege of being the last destroyed.

The Carolinians continued to send their groans to General Amherst; and, in the beginning of 1761, when the conquest of Canada had disengaged his troops, he despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Grant with about two thousand men. The Carolinians added a new regiment: some Chikesaws and Catawbas were enlisted; and, early in May, the whole force, consisting of about twenty-six hundred men, proceeded to Prince George. The Little Carpenter once more attempted to make peace; but Colonel Grant would listen to

none of his proposals; and, sending forward a scouting party of Indians, and men painted like Indians, he commenced his advance into the interior. For three days, he made forced marches; but, on the fourth, he began to draw near the spot, where his predecessor had boasted of gaining a victory; and it was deemed advisable to proceed with more caution, and be prepared for battle.

About eight in the morning of the 10th of June, these precautions were justified by a simultaneous attack from the thickets in every quarter. The army received it without wavering; and, as the Indians seldom stood before a charge, they often imagined, that the day was their own. But, before eleven o'clock, when the action ceased, they learned, that an Indian is not beaten, because he runs. Driven from the front, they attacked the enemy in the rear: conquered on the right, they started up, on the left: chased from the heights, they were ready for battle on the low grounds: and, though a superiority of numbers, at length, compelled them to leave the field, they kept up a scattering fire until two in the afternoon.

Etchoe was burnt the next day: the thirteen remaining villages of the middle settlements soon shared the same fate; and, after spending thirty days in butchery and devastation, the army returned to Fort Prince George. It might be the part of a



historian, who sets patriotism above truth, to draw a veil over the barbarities committed in this war. The army followed the lesson taught by their enemies; and, in some instances, even bettered the instruction. All sorts of stratagem were considered as lawful. The assembly seemed to think, that a savage war should be conducted in a savage manner; and, finding that twenty-five pounds were not not enough for Cherokee scalps, they offered thirty-five.\*

Perhaps the Indians had calculated upon more lenient treatment: or, at any rate, the Little Carpenter and the other leading chiefs now begged, most sincerely, for peace. A treaty was drawn up; and they readily acceded to all the articles, except one; which stipulated, that either four Cherokees should be put to death in the face of the army, or four green scalps produced within two nights. Application was made to Governor Bull; who, after a speech from the Little Carpenter, had the humanity to release so unreasonable a demand. A fire was then kindled; the pipe of peace lighted; and, after smoking together in silence, both parties wished, that the peace might last as long as the sun should shine, or the rivers flow.

But the pipe of the south had scarcely been lighted, when that of the north was extinguished. In a conference between several American governors and the Six Nations, soon after the peace of 1761, a warm

\* See Note (K).



dispute arose concerning certain lands, which, the Indians asserted, had been seized by some English settlers, under a fraudulent conveyance. Population, too, augmented so rapidly during peace, that the colonists overran their prescribed limits; and, as a chain of forts had been constructed around the most important hunting lands of the Indians, they perceived, that the English, by fate, or by design, were about to extirpate them, and take possession of their territory. The Shawanese, Delawares, the tribes along the Ohio, this side of the Mississippi, and about Detroit, concerted a plan, in 1763, to attack, at one and the same time, all the English posts and settlements in their neighbourhood. Harvest was the time agreed upon; and, so effectually was the design concealed, that the first notice was in the yells of the Indians. The settlers were surprised at work in the field; their crops devastated, and their houses burnt. The Indians made themselves masters of forts Le Boeuf, Venango, Presqu'Ile, and Michilimackinack; and attempted to reduce Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara.

General Amherst immediately detached strong reinforcements to the three latter forts. The one destined for Detroit, was put under the command of Captain Dalyell; who was so little acquainted with Indians, as to imagine, that he might take them by surprise, and at once relieve the fort from further

annoyance. About two o'clock in the morning, he started from the fort, with two hundred and seventy men; and, while he supposed he was advancing entirely unobserved, received a fire in his front; and, before his men had recovered the shock, another in the rear, and, immediately after, one on each flank. He fell; and the command devolved upon Captain Grant; who extricated himself by a resolute charge, and was enabled to make his way back to the fort. The Indians knew, that the garrison was now strong and well supplied; and, as they could not endure a protracted siege, the enterprise was abandoned.

The reinforcement for Fort Pitt was entrusted to Colonel Bouquet; who started about the end of July, with a large quantity of provisions and military stores. Like Captain Dalyell, he fancied it possible to elude the observation of the enemy; and, the more effectually to secure his purpose, he resolved to pass the defile of Turtle Creek, in the night. On the 5th of August, his men had marched seventeen miles, over a rough and mountainous country; and were just preparing to rest and refresh themselves,—when a sudden yell and fire, in front, announced the presence of the savages, and threw the army again upon their legs. A vigorous charge drove back the Indians; but it was only to lead the troops into an ambuscade; and, whatever might be the glory of the

conquest, they were satisfied to regain their former position. Similar charges were made in every direction; but the troops seemed only to beat the air, or fight an invisible enemy. The Indians gave way in one place, merely to fall on, in another; and what would have been defeat to others, was victory to them. The action was continued from one in the afternoon till evening; and, though the troops were successful in every attack, they gained nothing in the end.

The men slept little during the night; and, on the first dawn of morning, the Indians aroused them with the whoop of battle, and the roar of their guns. The taste of blood seemed to have given them new ferocity; and even the English themselves, exhausted as they were, recommenced the action with additional vigour,—some stimulated by the hopes of revenge, and others, by a spirit of desperation. The Indians were regularly driven at the point of the bayonet; and as regularly turned upon their pursuers, as soon as the chase was over. These efforts were repeated, till the men became hopeless: they saw their strength thrown away, and their courage exerted in vain; and they stood, remembering the fate of Braddock, and, perhaps, trembling at their own,—when Colonel Bouquet, availing himself of his dear-bought experience, resolved to fight the Indians in their own way.

The army was encamped in a circle. Two com-



panies, which had been posted without the circumference, were ordered to retire within; the two ends of the broken circle to close up, in their rear; and, after making a show of resistance, to give way and retreat. The two first companies, at the same time, were joined by one company of grenadiers, and another of light infantry. The thin ranks gave ground, according to orders: the Indians followed with headlong impetuosity; and, supposing themselves masters of the field, began what they meant for a slaughter, rather than an action. Two of the companies, already mentioned, made a sudden turn upon their flank; while the remaining two attacked them in front. For a moment, they were not undeceived; and returned the fire with activity and resolution. But a short time served to convince them of their mistake: they betook themselves to their swiftness of foot; and the four companies pursued them so closely, that they never looked behind, until they got beyond the probability of annoyance. But this conquest was, in truth, a defeat. The great object of the expedition, was, to supply Fort Pitt with stores; and, so many of the pack-horses were killed in these several engagements, that Colonel Bouquet was obliged to destroy the greatest part of the provisions. The army advanced about two miles; pitched their tents; and imagined, that they might take some rest. Scarcely



had they finished their preparations, when the Indians again made their appearance. They seemed not to be yet certain, that they were the weakest; but a few discharges completed their conviction; and, for the four remaining days, they suffered the troops to march unmolested.

Having succeeded so ill against **Forts Detroit and Pitt**, the Indians now concentrated their forces, for an attack upon **Niagara**. Their object was to isolate the fort, and intercept its reinforcements and supplies. On the 14th of **September, 1764**, they annihilated a convoy, which was marching to its relief; and, not long after, made an unsuccessful attack, in canoes, upon a schooner, which was carrying provisions to **Detroit**. All the northern colonies were called upon to contribute their quotas of men, for the prosecution of the war; and, among the rest, **Connecticut** raised a battalion, and put it under the command of **Colonel Israel Putnam**.<sup>\*</sup> Strengthened by these reinforcements, **Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet** harassed the Indians during the spring and summer of 1765; and, in **September**, they were willing to bury the hatchet, and conclude a peace.

\* See Note (L.).

## CHAPTER VII.

Seeds of the Revolution—Assertion and Denial of the Right to tax the Colonies—Passage of the Stamp-Act—Congress at New York—Associations against the Stamp-Act—The Repeal—Tax on Tea, Glass, and Painters' Colours—Spirit of Massachusetts—Mob at Boston—Convention at Faneuil Hall—Affray with the Soldiery—Non-Importation Associations—Insurrection in North Carolina—Corresponding Committees—Hutchinson and Oliver's Letters—Dr. Franklin—Results of the Stamp-Tax and Duty on Tea—Plan to test the Resolution of the Colonists—The Tea emptied into Boston Harbour—Boston Port-Bill, &c.—Resolution of the Colonies to support Boston—Day of Humiliation and Prayer throughout the Continent—Governor Gage—Proposition for a general Congress—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Legislature—Congress at Philadelphia—Unanimity of the Colonists—Alarms—Obstinacy of the Bostonians—New Alarms—Proceedings of Parliament—Attempt to divide the Colonies—Battle of Lexington.

AS far back as the year 1692, the general court of Massachusetts had formally denied the right of parliament, to impose any tax whatever upon that colony. New York, soon after, followed the example; and, though the southern colonies made no express determination on the subject, their language uniformly implied a recognition of the same principles. Parliament, on the other hand, seems never to have had the least doubt, that its supremacy extended to the enact-

ment of laws, which should bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. So early as 1739, a knot of American merchants recommended a scheme of provincial taxation: but it was not until 1754, that the subject attracted the serious attention of the ministers; and, even then, the known disposition of the colonists, and the necessity of their friendship and co-operation in the approaching war, were sufficient to postpone, for the present, the adoption of a measure, which would, at all times, be of questionable policy. Ten years afterwards, however, when these objections were, in a great measure, removed, and when the unexampled expenses of the war called for extraordinary sources of revenue,—there could be no danger, it was thought, in passing a bill, which, without startling the colonists with its immediate execution, should merely suggest the propriety of laying certain stamp-duties upon them.

But the ministry were greatly deceived, if they supposed, the Americans would not awake, at such a step towards the infringement of their rights. A cry was universally raised against the measure; and, though the colonists had quietly submitted to commercial duties, imposed by the mother country; yet there was a distinction, they began to assert, between *external* and *internal* duties,—between taxes imposed for the general regulation of commerce, and those which were levied for the creation of revenue. They were suffi-

ciently acquainted with the English constitution, to know, that it required 'taxation and representation' to go hand in hand; and they appealed to the original principles of free government, against the assumed right of taking away their property without their consent. It was the fruitful theme of all conversations; and the source of endless petitions and memorials. All this, however, was of no avail against the necessities of the state. The exertions of the provinces, during the last war, had given the mother country an extravagant idea of their wealth; though they had failed to lessen her contempt of their power. The remonstrances of the colonial agents were given to the wind; and, in 1765, the stamp-act passed, in the house of commons, with only one dissenting voice.

The legislature of Virginia, which happened to be in session, when the news was received, immediately adopted a series of strong resolutions against the act; and the general court of Massachusetts soon after recommended a congress of deputies from all the colonies, to deliberate upon the best means of preventing the difficulties, to which they must be subjected, by such a preposterous system of taxation. New Hampshire alone dissented from the proposal; and the legislatures of Virginia and North Carolina were not in session: but delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Penn-



sylvania, the three lower counties of Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, assembled at New York, in October; and, choosing Mr. Thomas Ruggles for their president,\* immediately proceeded to draw up a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonies. They voted a petition to the king; and recommended the appointment of special agents from all the colonies, to represent them in the mother country. The people, in the mean time, were forming themselves into associations to abridge the consumption of English manufactures, and to elude the operation of the stamp-act. They resolved to kill no lambs; and to have all future law-suits decided by arbitration. Among the other societies, there was one formed in Connecticut and New York, under the title of the *Sons of Liberty*; who bound themselves to march, at their own expense, to any part of the continent, for the single purpose of preventing the execution of the stamp-act. There were many still more riotous meetings; and, especially in the large towns, the populace grossly abused many of the inhabitants, and destroyed a good deal of property.

The stamp-act was repealed, in 1766;—not, however, on account of the opposition, which it met with, in America; but because the government had recently fallen into the hands of those, who were originally opposed to the measure. The intelligence was re-

\* See Note (M).

ceived with great joy, in all the colonies; and the burgesses of Virginia, in particular, voted a statue to his majesty. The reconciliation was not quite so complete in New York and Massachusetts; where the people had been more exasperated in consequence of some new duties imposed upon their commerce, as well as by the increased rigour with which the old laws had, of late, been executed. Nor did the English ministry suffer *any* of the provinces to rejoice long in their good fortune. The chancellor of the exchequer boasted, in the house of commons, that *he* knew ‘how to draw a revenue from the colonies, ‘without giving them offence;’ and he accordingly proposed,—and to propose was to enact,—that certain duties should be laid on tea, glass, and painters’ colours. The first step of the Massachusetts legislature, after receiving intelligence of this measure, shewed Mr. Townshend, that he knew, as little as his predecessors, how to draw a revenue from the Americans. An immediate resolution was taken, to oppose a parliamentary tax, in whatever shape it might appear; and not only was a petition voted to the king, and letters despatched to the agent of the colony, and to nearly all the members of the administration,—but the other colonies were exhorted, in a circular address, to make a similar manifestation of their displeasure. This, indeed, was done; though it is curious to

remark, that, at this time, the colonists durst hardly whisper words, which, a few years after, they pronounced with such resolute emphasis. The general court of Massachusetts said, they had ‘too much reason to believe, that the enemies of the colonies had represented them to his majesty as having a disposition to become *independent* of the mother country.’ And the Virginian legislature declared, that ‘they did not affect an *independency* of their parent kingdom, the prosperity of which they felt bound to promote: but cheerfully acquiesced in the authority of parliament to make laws for preserving a necessary *dependence*, and for regulating the trade of the colonies.’

As soon as the news of these proceedings reached the ears of Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies, he called upon all the provincial assemblies to avoid any co-operation in the factious measures of Massachusetts; and, at the same time, required the latter colony, in his majesty’s name, to rescind the restrictions, which gave birth to its circular address. These requisitions, instead of conciliating the obedience of the colonies, merely served to confirm their opposition. Massachusetts, indeed, became doubly malcontent; and, though the general court still continued to ‘rely on the royal clemency,’ and to express their devotion to ‘their gracious sovereign:’ yet they did not fail to assert, very unequivocally, that they

should neither rescind the resolutions they had taken; nor submit to be taxed by a legislature three thousand miles off.

The people, or rather, the populace, of Boston, were, in the mean time, expressing their sentiments in a more practical manner. A sloop, with the ominous name of *Liberty*, had been cut away from Mr. Hancock's wharf, by the officers of the customs; and detained, several days, without the least warrant of legal proceedings. The irritated inhabitants immediately gathered into a mob; beat the officers and their assistants; 'patrolled the streets in a tumultuous manner,' to use the words of their own *Justificatory Memorial*; 'broke several windows to the value of 'about five pounds; burnt,' in triumph, 'a pleasure boat belonging to the collector; and then dispersed 'at about eleven o'clock at night.' The legislature secretly rejoiced at this manifestation of feelings so congenial with their own; but, as appearances must be saved, they openly declared their utter abhorrence of the affray; and set about the detection and punishment of the offenders, by passing many wise and vigorous resolutions;—which were never executed.

Governor Bernard dissolved the general court, in the hope, that the ferment of the interior would subside, as soon as it ceased to be stirred up, by a convention of the popular leaders; and, to keep under the rebellious spirit of Boston, he sent to Ge-



neral Gage, at New York, for two regiments of men. As soon as intelligence of this design exuded, the inhabitants held a town-meeting; and appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, and to request, that he would summon another general court. He refused his compliance; and they proceeded to resolve, among other things, that, as, 'in the minds of many,' there was an 'apprehension' of an 'approaching war with France,' every householder should be required to furnish himself with a complete stand of arms; and that, to supply the place of the ordinary legislature, the inhabitants of the several other towns should be invited to join them in sending delegates to a convention in Fenuil Hall. The plan succeeded. The convention met; gave their opinion upon the various subjects of complaint; addressed a letter to the agent in England; and, after disclaiming all pretensions to legislative authority, broke up the meeting and returned home. The day previous to its dissolution, the two regiments, which had been sent for, arrived in Nantasket Road. It was supposed, that the more violent part of the inhabitants would strenuously attempt to oppose their landing; and the ships of war were accordingly moored, with their broadsides to the town, and with springs upon their cables. The troops began to debark at one o'clock. They marched through the town with fixed bayonets; and, as the

select council had refused to furnish quarters, they increased the exasperation of the people, by taking possession of their senate-house. The wants of the colony, soon after, necessitated the governor to call a general court; and the first act of the session, was, to draw up a strong remonstrance against the military investment of the metropolis,—and more especially, against an extraordinary attempt to influence the deliberations of the legislature, by stationing a guard before the house, with cannon pointed at the door. The governor thought the assembly would be more tractable, if removed from the pestilent atmosphere of Boston: it was adjourned to Cambridge; but the deputies soon became so much more obstinate than before, that he was obliged to prorogue them altogether.

Nor did the adjournment to Cambridge have any better effect upon the Bostonians; who, after remonstrating, in vain, against being challenged in the street, and being disturbed, by drums, on the Sabbath, contrived, it is said, to bring the matter to a crisis, by provoking a quarrel with the soldiery. Four of the inhabitants were killed; and, the fact being soon known in every part of the town, the bells were rung: drums beat to arms; and nothing but the presence and the promises of the lieutenant-governor could have prevented so great a multitude, as soon collected, from rushing,

naked, as it were, upon the bayonets of the obnoxious twenty-ninth regiment. He prevailed upon the inhabitants to disperse; but it was only to address the lieutenant-governor upon the dangerous impropriety of suffering the soldiers to remain any longer in the town. He expressed his great sorrow at the whole occurrence; and told them, he had taken measures to have it investigated. They voted, that the answer was unsatisfactory: and a second deputation induced the council to resolve, that the good of his majesty's service, and the tranquillity of the province, demanded the immediate removal of the troops. They were, accordingly, removed. The provincials were not actuated by a blind spirit of animosity; nor did they forget, in the hour of triumph, to give others the benefit of those equal laws, which they were determined to secure for themselves. Captain Preston, who sallied from the barracks, on this occasion, was defended by Boston lawyers, and cleared by a Boston jury; and, of the eight soldiers, who had been committed to prison, only two were found guilty; and that, not of murder, but of manslaughter.

During these transactions, the king, of course, had, at every session, some new information to lay before parliament, respecting the disloyal spirit of America; nor was it long before a joint resolution of the two houses, not only reproved this spirit, in the most

solemn manner; but sent over for an account of all the treasons, and of all the traitors, that had distinguished Massachusetts, since 1767. The legislature of Virginia answered this resolution, by strenuously asserting her right to impose her own taxes, and to try her own people; and, when the governor abruptly dissolved the session, the members got together, in a private house, and passed several patriotic resolves,—which were promptly adopted by their constituents,—against the further importation of British merchandize.

*Non-importing Associations* were set on foot in Massachusetts, as early as May, 1768; and, though, from the refused concurrence of some large trading towns, in the other colonies, the measure was then laid aside, the merchants of Boston took it up again, in the following August; and resolved generally, that, from January, 1769, they would not, for one year, import, from England, any articles but those of the first necessity; and that they would never import tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours, until the duties on them should be taken off. The members of the Virginia legislature sent copies of their proceedings to all the other colonial assemblies. Those of Maryland and the Carolinas soon followed the example; and, though Georgia, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire were, at first, considerably reluctant at imposing on themselves such a system of self-denial, a threatened



discontinuance of intercourse with their sister provinces, induced them to adopt, at length, a similar measure of non-importation. For some time these resolutions were kept with the utmost zeal and rigour. Committees of superintendence were appointed: those, who did not enter into the agreement, had votes of censure passed upon them: those, who violated it, were exposed, by name, in the newspapers; and, not only were proscribed goods locked up in the warehouses,—but, in some instances, even sent back to England. It was impossible, however, that such a system should long maintain its inviolability. The superintendant committees were accused of partiality: the different sea-port towns mutually charged each other with extensive infractions of the agreement; and, when we add to these suspicions and jealousies, the inconvenience and mortification of going without those articles, which, though, perhaps, superfluous, in reality, had yet been rendered necessary, by custom,—together with the apparent spirit of conciliation, with which the Duke of Grafton commenced his administration, by proposing to take off all colonial duties, except those upon the single article of tea,—we cannot wonder, that New York and Rhode Island pretty soon came to a determination of importing, as usual, such goods as were free of duty; and that the other colonies were not very tardy in following an example, which,

while it saved them the infamy of desertion, released them from a most uncomfortable mode of taking revenge upon England.

Throughout the middle and southern colonies, indeed, the spirit of disaffection had, in a great measure, subsided, in 1770. They still adhered, in name at least, to their measures for preventing the importation of tea; but the inhabitants of North Carolina seemed to be more offended by the fee-bill, than the duty on that article. They rose in arms, to exterminate lawyers, and overturn courts of justice; and Governor Tryon was obliged to give the insurgents battle, before he could restore public tranquillity. The people of Massachusetts were still brooding on concerns of deeper interest. They considered the slightest measure of concession as an authority for future encroachment; and they were possessed with a gloomy solicitude, lest the spirit, that had been roused, should sink into apathy; and the colonists, disheartened by the failure of the first effort, should be willing to submit to oppression, rather than encounter the difficulties of resistance. But they overrated the wisdom of the British ministry. The controversy had gone so far, that it could not be terminated, without submission, on one side or the other; and the administration of the mother country soon manifested their own disposition, while they relieved the fears of the Bosto-

nians, by ordering, that the garrison of provincials, in the castle, should be superseded by regular troops.

When this order was communicated to the general court, in September, 1771, they immediately resolved, that it was a measure calculated to alarm a free people; and, lest the opportunity of resistance should pass by, without improvement, they organized committees of correspondence, to circulate intelligence, ascertain the views of the people, in the interior, and keep alive the embers of disaffection. The efficacy of the system was soon demonstrated; and the rest of the colonies afterwards followed the example. But the English ministry seemed determined, that it should not be their fault, if the colonies lacked occasion to show their sense of injuries. Massachusetts had hitherto exercised a wholesome control over its officers, from the highest to the lowest, by making the amount of their salaries depend upon the will of the legislature. In the other colonies, they received their salaries from the king; and, in May, 1772, the general court were told, that the same system was thenceforth to be pursued in Massachusetts. This they declared to be a gross infraction of their chartered rights; and the inflammation produced by the measure was yet raging, when they received, from Doctor Franklin, the insidious letters, which had been written to the department of state, by Chief

Justice Hutchinson, and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver.\* These gentlemen had continually represented the disaffection of Massachusetts, as extending to only a few turbulent individuals; and nothing was wanted, they said, to keep the colony in order, but a more vigorous system of administration. The assembly drew up a strong resolution, upon the subject of these letters; and transmitted to the king, through the hands of Dr. Franklin, a petition for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. The lords of the council called it 'a groundless, vexatious, and scandalous' petition. His majesty was pleased to approve the report; but Hutchinson was soon after removed, and General Gage appointed in his stead.

The incapacity of the British statesmen was apparent, in every step of their policy towards the colonies; and we can never be sufficiently grateful, that we were blessed with such a man as Franklin, to expose their blunders, and assert our rights;—a man, who, like Washington, was bred in the school of affliction; and who, if unequal to his great coadjutor, in the qualifications of a military chief, was compensated by a singular aptitude for almost every other kind of pursuit. Lord Hillsborough supposed, that elections, in this country, were as expensive as those in England; and that, by dissolving a provincial assembly, he might

\* See Note (N).



get rid of many obnoxious representatives. Dr. Franklin took care to make it generally known, that a candidate, in America, did not even solicit a vote, or give so much as 'a pint of cider' to a voter. His lordship supposed, also, that, as London or Dublin would be seriously injured, were the wealthy lords and commoners prevented from spending their money in those places, so Boston might be punished, by adjourning the general court to Cambridge. Dr. Franklin told the people of England, that a representative, in America, was a frugal yeoman, who, as he had little money to spend, so he had little occasion to spend it; and that the expedient of prohibiting their assembly in Boston, could only affect a few widows, who kept lodging-houses.

But the greatest sources of annoyance to the ministry, were the results of the stamp-act, and of the duty on tea. As Dr. Franklin was one day going to court, he says, he learned two things, which amused him. The expense of the stamp-office, in stamps and stamping, in paper and parchment, which had been returned on their hands,—amounted to twelve thousand pounds: their receipts from Canada and the West Indies were fifteen hundred; and one of the commissioners was then attending court, with a memorial, to be allowed, in their accounts, the difference between their receipts and their expenditures!

The consequences of the duty on tea were still more ruinous. Dr. Franklin was told, that, after deducting the expense of collection, the balance in favour of England was but eighty-five pounds; that the stock of the East India Company had sunk sixty per cent.; that they had on their hands, teas and other articles, to the amount of nearly four millions of pounds, for which there was no market; and that, calculating upon the sale of these goods, the company had accepted bills, which they had not the funds to pay. In the mean time, the trade in tea had fallen into the hands of the Dutch, the Danes, the Swedes, and the French; who, while they were supplying us with chests of bohea, undoubtedly took occasion to smuggle in boxes of other goods. Dr. Franklin talked upon these subjects, in all companies; and he seldom failed to convince his listeners, that these consequences were chiefly attributable to the duty on tea.

The company themselves were convinced of the fact; and, in a petition, which they presented to the king, they promised, that, if the import duty of three pence on the pound were taken off, they would pay twice the amount on exportation. The ministers were determined to manage the thing in their own way; and a plan was now formed, to bring the resolution of the colonies to the test. Tea, they knew, had almost become one of the necessities of life; and

they were yet to learn, that, when an article of necessity is thrown into the market, a whole people would suffer political considerations to prevent them from indulging their natural appetites. They accordingly granted the company more than they asked:—they not only took off the import duty, but allowed drawbacks on exportation. The opportunity was eagerly embraced; and vessels, groaning with their loads of tea, soon appeared before all the principal harbours of our country.

The colonists were sensible, that the hour of their trial was come. If the tea were landed, it would be sold: if sold, the duties must be paid; and a payment of the duties would be a recognition of their legality. The first step of this fatal progress was actually taken in Charleston. The tea was permitted to be brought on shore; but the chests were immediately thrown into damp cellars; where they remained, until they were spoiled. In most instances, the ships were obliged to return, with their whole cargoes. The people of Boston held a meeting; and, after adopting the spirited resolutions, which had been taken in Philadelphia, they chose a committee to wait upon the consignees, and request them to resign. A refusal to comply with the request only increased the irritation of the inhabitants. An immense multitude assembled at Fenuil Hall; and it was resolved, by acclamation, ‘that the

‘tea should not be landed; that no duty should be paid; and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms.’

The captain had now become alarmed; and would fain have obtained a clearance for England. But the governor would not depart from the letter of his instructions; and, to keep the vessel in port, refused the clearance, because she had not properly gone through the custom-house. When the answer was reported to the assembly at Fenuil Hall, they immediately dissolved themselves; and, as if all their minds had tacitly agreed upon the same expedient, they repaired in crowds to the wharf; when some of their number put on the dress of Mohawk Indians; went on board the vessel; and, in two hours, broke open and emptied into the harbour three hundred and forty-two chests of tea.

The intelligence of this outrage rendered parliament almost frantic with indignation. A bill was immediately voted, to shut up Boston as a port of entry, and remove the custom-house to Salem. Another was soon after passed, which completely subverted the charter; and vested in the king the power of nominating all the officers of the colony. A third followed, in which it was provided, that, if any person should be indicted for a capital offence, and it should appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in aiding the magistrates to suppress riots, and that a



fair trial could not be had in that province, he should send the prisoner to another colony, or to Great Britain. By the second bill, the governor was to be appointed by the king: by the last, he was to exercise his discretion, in the cases provided for; and the discretion of a governor, thus appointed, was well known to mean nothing more than that, whenever a person was indicted for assisting in the suppression of a riot, he should be sent to England, where his crime would be his commendation.

Mr. Hutchinson, who was then in England, had persuaded the ministry, that, by inflicting the whole of their chastisement upon the town of Boston, they would not only dissolve the union of the colonies,—but even dissever Massachusetts herself. It was the misfortune of the administration to be always guided by such men as Mr. Hutchinson. The effect of these measures was precisely the reverse of what had been anticipated. The other colonists saw, that Boston was only suffering for a more inflexible perseverance in a system, by which they themselves had vowed to stand or fall. All local interests were sunk in the general concern: all eyes were directed to Boston: all listened, with palpitating anxiety, to the intelligence daily received from that quarter: the cause of that town was considered as the cause of all British America: nay, the cause of all mankind: and, if the *Sons*

*of Liberty* were beaten on the strong-hold, the cause was lost. Meetings were held in every part of the continent; and letters and addresses sent to Boston; justifying the inhabitants in all their proceedings; assuring them of the sympathy of every American; exhorting them to be of good cheer, and depend upon the co-operation and support of all her sister provinces.

The news of the Boston port bill found the legislature of Virginia in session. The house of burgesses immediately appointed the 1st of June, 1774, when the bill was to take effect, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. It was rightly judged, that, on that day, the thoughts of the colonists would be chiefly occupied with the abusive treatment of the mother country; and that their determination of resistance would sink deeper into their minds, when stamped with the solemnities of religious worship. The example was followed in all other parts of the country; and, almost at the same moment, the united provinces were addressing the Arbiter of nations, and imploring a righteous Providence to smile upon a righteous cause.

In the mean time, Governor Gage arrived at Boston, as the successor of Mr. Hutchinson. The general court assembled, a few days afterwards; and the new governor immediately informed them, that, agreeably to the late act of parliament, their place of meeting

would, on the 1st of June, be changed to Salem. They resolved to defeat the measure; and were hurrying to finish their business, when he suddenly adjourned them, till the 7th of June. On the 7th of June they accordingly met; but, instead of taking up such matters as the governor expected them to discuss, they proceeded to recommend a general congress of delegates from all the colonies, and to appoint five gentlemen as the representatives of Massachusetts. The measure had been previously suggested at Boston and in New York: the legislature of Virginia, previous to its last dissolution, had proposed it to their committee of correspondence; and it was now adopted by every province from New Hampshire to Carolina.

As soon as the legislature had given impulse to this project, they proceeded to recommend, that, until the grievances of America should be redressed, the inhabitants should forego the use of East India tea; and should purchase no goods imported from any place under the dominion of Great Britain; but afford all possible encouragement to the manufactures of their own country.\* Governor Gage soon heard of the manner, in which the house was spending the time; and he sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly. The doors of the room were shut against him; and he was obliged to read his order upon the stair-case. The

\* See Note (O)

next day, the inhabitants of Salem presented an address to the governor; in which they plainly told him, that they did not consider it as any favour to have their own town made the port of entry; and that no considerations of individual emolument would induce them to grow rich upon the ruin of Boston, or to detach themselves from the common lot of all British America.

About the same time, the receipt of the bill for quartering troops upon the inhabitants, and of two others against the province of Massachusetts, gave additional stimulus to the resolution of the colonists. They served to convince the doubtful; to render the sober, violent, and the violent, outrageous. The committee of correspondence at Boston, immediately drew up ‘a solemn league and covenant;’ in which they bound themselves, under the sanction of an oath, to hold no intercourse with the mother country, from the ensuing August, (1774); to purchase or consume no goods, which should arrive after that time; and to hold no communion with those, who should refuse to subscribe the same or a similar agreement. Governor Gage issued a proclamation, in which he called this covenant ‘an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination;’ and admonished all persons to abstain from incurring the penalties of a compliance with its requisitions. But the time had gone by, when the colonists would tremble at a proclamation. The people of



Massachusetts obeyed their committee; and, as soon as the legislatures of the other provinces were called together, they manifested the same spirit, and adopted similar resolutions.

On the 10th of September, 1774, the first American congress met at Philadelphia. They assembled, the next day, at the Carpenter's Hall; and, after choosing Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, for their president, resolved, that each colony should have but a single vote; that they would deliberate with closed doors; and that all such measures as they did not determine to make public, should be kept in inviolable secrecy. The first act of this memorable assembly was, to approve a series of spirited and indignant resolutions, which had been passed in the county of Suffolk, in Massachusetts; and to vote unanimously, that contributions to relieve the necessities of Boston should be continued as long as occasion might require. The merchants were requested to stop all imports from Great Britain; and, such was the confidence reposed in the congress, that, notwithstanding orders had already been sent, resolutions were immediately passed in all parts of the country, to suspend importations from the 1st of the following December, and to discontinue all exports from the 10th of September, 1775.

Early in the session, the congress drew up a

manifesto; in which, after claiming for the colonists the common rights of Englishmen, they asserted, that those rights had been infringed by the late acts of parliament, which, among other things, arrogated the power of making laws to bind them in all cases whatsoever; deprived them of a trial by the peers of the vicinage; imposed taxes, where there was no representation; established the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec; shut up the port of Boston; kept standing armies among them in time of peace; and quartered the soldiers upon the inhabitants. This declaration was followed by addresses to the king; to the people of Great Britain; to their own constituents; and to Canada, St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas. The wisdom, firmness, and temperance of these papers, excited the admiration of the greatest statesmen in England; and were a wonder to those bigotted Englishmen, who had been accustomed to think, with profound contempt, of the spirit and intelligence of the colonists.

The language of these sages can never become trite by copying; and their own words are their best eulogy. ‘When,’ say they, in the address to the English people, ‘when a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory, that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for

her friends and children, and, instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

‘ In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men and the blessings of liberty to you, their posterity.

‘ Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution, you so justly boast of; and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that, by having *our* lives and property in their power, they may with the greater facility enslave *you*.’

‘ We believe,’ say they, in another place, ‘ there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public

spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told, that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independence. Be assured, that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you as our greatest glory, and our greatest happiness: we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire: we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

‘But, if you are determined, that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind,—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain you from shedding blood in such an impious cause; we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world.’\*

In the petition to the king, they say, ‘We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour; your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall zealously and carefully endeavour to support and maintain.’

\* The committee appointed to draft this address were Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Jay; the latter of whom is supposed to have written the paper.



The following manly appeal concludes the address: 'Permit us, then, most gracious sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility to implore you, for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdom and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation, formed by these ties, to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained.\*

But, while they held out to the king the hopes of reconciliation, their language to the colonists anticipated a more important catastrophe. 'Your own salvation,' say they, 'and that of your posterity, now depend upon yourselves. You have already shown

\* Mr. Lee, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, and Mr. Rutledge, were appointed to report this petition. It is supposed to have been penned by Mr. Lee.

that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh, in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendents must endure from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honour of your country, that must, from your behaviour, take its title, in the estimation of the world, to glory or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that, if the peaceable mode of opposition, recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to choose, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

‘Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief. But we think ourselves bound in duty to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against the colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things, we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amend-

ment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favour of Almighty God; and we fervently beseech his divine goodness, to take you into his gracious protection.\*

Revelations from above could hardly have been observed with more devotion, than the resolves and recommendations of this congress. Whatever might have been the doubts of the separate colonies, respecting the sincerity of each other, they were now convinced, that there were but one heart and one hand in the cause. The language of their congress was conned by rote: not a hint was lost; and, though nothing had been said of warlike preparation, they ‘extended their views to mournful events,’ by forming themselves into independent companies, and practising the evolutions of military discipline. The liberal contributions received by the Bostonians could not remunerate them for the total destruction of their trade; but oppression, while it increased the sympathy of their neighbours, only seemed to make them the more resolute. The colonists had risen above all selfish considerations; and it ought to be mentioned, to the particular honour of the people at Marblehead, that they not only gave the importers of Boston the free use of their wharves and stores,—but proffered their services to load and unload their vessels.

\* This paper was, also, drawn up by Messrs. Lee, Livingston, and Jay

Not long after General Gage was made governor of Massachusetts, two regiments of infantry, with a small detachment of artillery, were landed at Boston, and encamped on the common. The force was gradually increased, by the accession of some other regiments; and, at last, the governor ordered a guard to be placed across the Neck, which joins Boston to the main land. A report flew into the interior, that all communication was intercepted, between the country and the town. The inhabitants of Worcester county ran together, with arms in their hands; and, had not some of the more prudent suggested the propriety of sending messengers, to ascertain the fact, they would have instantly marched to Boston, and fallen upon the troops. It may have been the same report, that, acquiring volume as it proceeded, not long afterwards, alarmed the people of Connecticut, with the story of a combined attack, by the British fleet and army, upon the town of Boston. Several thousand men immediately assembled; took up their march; and had advanced a considerable distance, before they received a contradictory account.

It was about the same time, that the new counsellors and judges, of whom the governor had received a list, were to enter upon the discharge of their respective offices. The people collected around the houses of the counsellors, and compelled them to



resign; and, no sooner were the doors of the court-house opened, than crowds pressed in, to fill up the room; and, when ordered to make way for the court, answered, that they knew no court, and should submit to no court, but the ancient laws and customs of the country. Governor Gage had issued writs for the election of representatives to the assembly; but afterwards judged it prudent to recall them. The colonists differed with him in opinion. Elections were held, in spite of his countermand; and, when the delegates met together, they voted themselves into authority, and sat as a provincial congress. A plan of defence was drawn up; provisions and stores voted for twelve thousand militia; and a body of men enrolled, to be ready for service, at a moment's warning. Governor Gage, now deemed it expedient to fortify Boston Neck. This appeared to be the final blow to that system of resentful measures, which had been directed against the town; but, such was the inflexibility of its inhabitants, that, instead of being humbled by the measure, they grew more obstinate; and, to put an end, at once, to the contest, resolved to evacuate the peninsula. Before so important a step should be taken, the more considerate leaders proposed to ask the advice of the general congress. The general congress referred the subject to the provincial congress; and, before the latter could decide the

question, they were probably interrupted by new occasions of alarm, and more urgent topics of discussion.

As the time approached for the general muster of the militia, Governor Gage thought it would do no harm, to seize the ammunition and warlike stores, in the arsenal at Cambridge, and in the magazines at Charlestown. As soon as the intelligence reached the country, the inhabitants again assembled in arms; and were again prevented, by better advisers, from marching directly to Boston. But the spirit was only suppressed, in one place, to break out in another. The fort at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and another in Rhode Island, were, not long afterwards, stormed, carried, and robbed of their ammunition, by armed bodies of the colonists. Indeed, General Gage was soon convinced, how idle were the names of king or governor, where the people are resolved not to obey. To avoid the hazardous experiment of quartering troops upon the town, he undertook to erect some temporary barracks, for the winter. The selectmen obliged the labourers to quit the work; and, though carpenters were, at last, obtained from New York, it was with the greatest difficulty that the buildings were completed. It was now time, also, to purchase winter clothes for the soldiers. The agency was offered to almost every merchant in New York; but those, who approved the colonists, would not, and

those who favoured the ministry, durst not, have any thing to do with it.

Parliament, in the mean time, was exerting its *omnipotence* to subdue the ‘daring spirit of resistance ‘and disobedience,’ which, the king said, ‘still prevailed in Massachusetts.’ Lord Chatham endeavoured to introduce some conciliatory measures; but he was overpowered by a majority of sixty-one to thirty-two; and Lord North obtained two hundred and eighty-eight votes, in three hundred and ninety-four, for an address to his majesty, in which it was resolved, ‘that a rebellion actually exists in Massachusetts Bay.’ In the debate on this motion, the American character was treated with the greatest contempt; and General Grant said, in the sublimity of his scorn, that, with five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other. Military men are apt to imagine, that no force of inexperienced militia can stand before a few well-trained regular troops: but, if any should still think, that discipline and order are any thing, compared with a sense of injuries, or a love of country, let them go to the plains of Marathon, or the heights of Bunker’s Hill.\*

To cripple what he supposed to be the only refractory part of the colonies, Lord North next intro-

See Note (P)

duced a bill to deprive New England of her fisheries. It was scarcely passed, when the American papers brought the intelligence, that the disaffection was not confined to the north; and the restraints were immediately extended, by a second bill, to East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and the counties on the Delaware. New York and North Carolina were spared, because they still appeared to be loyal. The former refused to adopt the resolutions of congress; and the latter had taken no decisive part on either side. When North Carolina joined the common cause, we know not; but New York was soon after converted, by the rejection of a petition, which she had laid before the commons by the hands of Mr. Burke,—the only man, besides Lord Chatham, who decried the injustice, and exposed the impolicy, of parliament, in its measures relating to America.

The commons were ready for the adoption of any measure, which was hostile to America; but, when another bill, brought in by Lord North, proposed, that parliament should cease to tax that colony, which should tax itself, as much as parliament desired, the house was in an uproar of indignation. Lord North was brazen enough to avow, that his object was to divide America; and silly enough to imagine, that, after such an avowal, the Americans would be caught in the trap. The commons, however, would listen to



nothing, which had the appearance of conciliation; and it was not till after the bill was shown to be really an attack in the shape of a concession, that they could be made to adopt it. Copies were immediately despatched to all the colonies; and the event showed, that the measure had been taken with the most perfect safety.

The colonies no longer doubted, that an open rupture was inevitable; and, while they were electing delegates for the ensuing congress, they urged the militia and minute-men to perfect their discipline, and hold themselves in readiness. The crisis was now arrived. On the night of the 18th of April, 1775, Governor Gage despatched Major Pitcairn and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, with eight or nine hundred men, to destroy a quantity of military stores, which had been collected at Concord. Great pains were taken to keep the expedition a secret; but some messengers, sent out by Dr. Warren, were enabled to spread the alarm; and, when the troops reached Lexington at five, on the morning of the 19th, they found about seventy militia paraded under arms. Major Pitcairn galloped to their front; and cried out, ‘Rebels, disperse! down with your arms, and disperse.’ His own soldiers shouted and rushed on. Here and there a scattering fire first announced the catastrophe; and a general discharge soon broke the spell for ever.

The militia were routed, with eight men killed, and several wounded.

Before Lieutenant-Colonel Smith proceeded to Concord, he detached six companies of light infantry to occupy two bridges, which it would be necessary to secure. Some minute-men and militia, who had been cautioned not to give the first fire, attempted to pass them, as common travellers. The enemy (for we must, hereafter, use that name) fired, and killed two men. A skirmish ensued; and the regulars were worsted. The militia now poured in, from every quarter. The British, finding themselves attacked on all sides, commenced a retreat, and were driven back, by inches, into Lexington. Foreboding some such event, Governor Gage had despatched Lord Percy, in the morning, with sixteen companies of foot, a body of marines, and two pieces of artillery. They arrived in time to give the regulars a short respite; but they soon renewed the retreat; and the militia continued to hang on their rear and flanks, and to gall them from trees and stone-fences, until they arrived, about sunset, at Charlestown. The colonists had now taken their choice; and ratified it by the most sacred of all symbols. ‘The very first drop of blood, which is shed in America,’ said Chat-ham, ‘will cause a wound, that never can be healed.’\*

\* See Note (Q).

## CHAPTER VIII.

Birth and Early Life of Washington—Mission to the French, on the Frontiers—Appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel, in the Virginia Regiment—Defeat at Fort Necessity—Resignation—Volunteers as Aid to General Braddock—Made Commander-in-chief of the Virginia Forces—Exertions for the Defence of the Frontiers—Abused by Governor Dinwiddie—Defamed by his Enemies—Expedition, under General Forbes, against Fort Du Quesne—Second Resignation, and Marriage.

WE have hitherto abstained from giving any notices of the chief actor in our revolution, because we supposed, the importance of his part would entitle him to a distinct chapter, in our early history. It is, even now, too general an opinion, that Washington had seen little military service, before the eruption of the colonial war; but, if, as it has been remarked, his subsequent life may be considered as the history of America, his life previous to that event may be called the history of Virginia. He underwent a severe apprenticeship to the trade of war, under its most horrible aspects; and, if we can extend the knowledge of the school, in which so glorious a character was

formed, we shall account ourselves sufficiently excused for an episode in our story.

George Washington, the third son of Augustine Washington, the grandson of John Washington, who emigrated from England, in 1657, was born at Bridges Creek, in the county of Westmoreland, in Virginia, on the 22d of February, 1732. He lost his father at ten years of age. His education was scanty; his patrimony inconsiderable; and he spent the early part of his life in the profession of a surveyor. At the age of fifteen, his urgent solicitations for a post in the British navy, procured for him the warrant of a midshipman; but the affectionate interposition of a timid mother reserved him for a more glorious career. Nothing, however, can be a stronger evidence of his early proficiency in military science, than, that, at the age of nineteen, he was appointed an adjutant-general of Virginia; and, two years afterwards, selected for the perilous and difficult enterprise of carrying Mr. Dinwiddie's letter to the French commander, on the western posts. Nor does his own account of the manner, in which he executed the trust, tend at all to diminish our opinion of his capacity for observation, and of his patience under fatigue, hardship, hunger, and cold.\*

\* His *Journal* is published, at length, in the appendix to Judge Marshall's second volume.



He set out from Williamsburg, on the 31st of October, 1753; and, passing through Fredericksburg, Alexandria, and Winchester, arrived at Wills' Creek, the westernmost English settlement, on the 14th of November. A guide and four servitors were procured: but, so excessive had been the fall of rain and snow, that it was as late as the 23d, before our adventurer reached the forks of the Ohio, a distance of about fifty miles. 'I spent some time (says he) in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork; which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land, at the point, is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well timbered land all around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile, or more, across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Alleghany, bearing north-east: and Monongahela, south-east. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.'

Shingess, the king of the Delawares, accompanied the party to Loggstown, a settlement, about eighteen miles from the forks; where they arrived between sunset and dark, on the 24th; and where it was intended to disclose the object of the expedition, in a council of the Six Nations. As the Half-King was

absent at his hunting-cabin, Mr. Washington went to Monakatoocha; gave him 'a string of wampum and a 'twist of tobacco;' and, after obtaining a promise, that all the sachems should be sent for, in the morning, invited him and the other great men to his tent. The Half-King arrived the next day; and Mr. Washington did not omit to interrogate him, particularly, respecting his visit to the French commander. The chief recited the whole of the speech, which he made on the occasion;—and which concluded in these words: 'Fathers, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between; therefore, the land belongs to neither the one nor the other. But the great Being above allowed it to be a place of residence for us: so, fathers, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers, the English; for I will keep you at arms' length. I lay this down as a trial for both, to see which will have the greatest regard to it; and that side we will stand by, and make equal sharers with us. Our brothers, the English, have heard this; and I come now to tell it to you; for I am not afraid to discharge you off this land;' delivering up the French wampum, as a token of disagreement. The general, he said, answered him, in a contemptuous speech, beginning with 'Now, my child;' called all the Indians 'flies and mosquitoes;' 'slung' back the wampum; told the Half-King, he 'talked foolish;' and

asserted his resolution of holding the country, in spite of Indians or English.

This insolence completed the enmity of the Half-King; and, in the council, at the Long House, on the 26th, he assured Mr. Washington, that his party should be provided with an ample guard; and that all the Indian tribes, in that quarter, should break off their alliance with the French, by sending back their respective strings of wampum, or speech belts. A delay of four days was occasioned by the absence of the Half-King's wampum, and by the failure of the Shannoah chiefs to appear in season. On the 30th, Mr. Washington was enabled to set out, under the convoy of the Half-King himself, together with three other chiefs; and, on the 4th of next month, he arrived at Venango, an old Indian settlement, at the mouth of French Creek. The French colours were flying on a house, which Mr. John Frazer, an English subject, had been compelled to relinquish. Mr. Washington wanted to speak with the commander. Captain Joncaire made his appearance; was very complaisant; and invited our ambassador to sup with him and his brother-officers. 'The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, (says the former,) soon banished the restraint, which, at first, appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more

freely. They told me, that it was their absolute design, to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it: for that, although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one; yet they knew their motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs. They pretended to have an undoubted right to the river, from a discovery made by one La Salle, sixty years ago.’

It rained so excessively, on the 5th, that our party were unable to travel. ‘Captain Joncaire (continues Mr. Washington) sent for the Half-King, as he had just heard that he came with me. He affected to be much concerned, that I did not make free to bring them in before. I excused it in the best manner of which I was capable, and told him, I did not think their company agreeable, as I had heard him say a good deal in dispraise of Indians in general: but another motive prevented me from bringing them into his company: I knew that he was an interpreter, and a person of great influence among the Indians, and had lately used all means to draw them over to his interest: therefore, I was desirous of giving him no opportunity that could be avoided. When they came in, great pleasure was expressed at seeing them. He wondered how they could be so near, without coming to visit him; made several trifling presents; and applied the liquor so fast, that they



were soon rendered incapable of the business they came about, notwithstanding the caution which was given.'

Captain Joncaire refused to take back their wampum; and so effectually did he ply them with liquor, presents, and fine speeches, that, when Mr. Washington came to start, on the 7th, it was with the greatest difficulty, that they were prevailed upon to bear him company. It was only sixty miles to the fort on French Creek: yet it took our party four days to make their way through the swamps and mires, which every where impeded their progress. Mr. Washington hastened to deliver Mr. Dinwiddie's letter; and, while the French officers retired to hold a council upon it, he employed himself in ascertaining the strength and dimensions of the fort. It was not until the morning of the 14th, that he received the answer of M. Legardner de St. Pierre; who, in the mean time, had used every artifice in his power, to detach the Indian chiefs, and prevent their return. He refused their speech-belt; drenched them with spiritous liquors; loaded them with presents; amused them with fair promises: and it required all the industrious and urgent perseverance of Mr. Washington, to get them away from a place, where they received so many flattering attentions and such comfortable fare. 'I cannot say, (we use his words,) that ever in my life I

suffered so much anxiety as in this affair: I saw that every stratagem, which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practised to win the Half-King to their interest; and that leaving him here was giving them the opportunity they aimed at. I went to the Half-King, and pressed him in the strongest terms to go; he told me that the commandant would not discharge them until the morning. I then went to the commandant, and desired him to do their business, and complained of ill treatment; for keeping them, as they were a part of my company, was detaining me. This he promised not to do, but to forward my journey as much as he could. He pretended he did not keep them, but was ignorant of the cause of their stay; though I found it out. He had promised them a present of guns, &c. if they would wait until morning. As I was very much pressed by the Indians to wait this day for them, I consented, on a promise that nothing should hinder them in the morning.'

As the horses became weaker every day, it had been determined to send them forward, with the baggage, and to descend the creek in a canoe. 'We had (says Washington) a tedious and very fatiguing passage. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged all hands to get out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting on the shoals. At one place, the ice had

lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the 22d, where we met with our horses.' But, 'our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy, (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require,) that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage. I put myself in an Indian walking dress, and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast; and the roads were becoming much worse by continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back, to make report of my proceedings to his honour the governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

'I took my necessary papers, pulled off my clothes, and tied myself up in a watch coat. Then, with gun in hand, and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday, the 26th. The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering-town, (where we intended to quit the path

and steer across the country for Shannepins town,)' at the forks of the Ohio, 'we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had laid in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night, then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start, so far, as to be out of the reach of their pursuit next day, since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light. The next day we continued travelling until it was quite dark, and got to the river about two miles above Shannapins. We expected to have found the river frozen, but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore: the ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

'There was no way for getting over but on a raft; which we set about with one poor hatchet, and finished just after sun-setting. This was a whole day's work: we next got it launched, then went on board of it, and set off: but before we were half way over, we were jammed in the ice, in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with such violence against the



pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.'

The cold was excessively severe. All Mr. Gist's fingers, and some of his toes, were frozen; and, by morning, the ice had become so thick, that both were enabled to reach the land, and go to Mr. Frazer's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek. 'As we intended to take horses here, (continues the journal,) and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles, to the mouth of Yohogany, to visit Queen Alliquippa, who had expressed great concern that we had passed her in going to the fort: I made her a present of a watch-coat, and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the best present of the two.' He set out from Mr. Frazer's on the 1st of January, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 16th; — 'after as fatiguing a journey as it was possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather. From the 1st day of December to the 10th, there was but one day in which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey, we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather.' His route lay through an enemy's country; and he was under the necessity of travelling as rapidly as

possible. Yet, under all these disadvantages, Mr. Washington was enabled, by his own observations, and by inquiries of others, to gain very accurate, and even very extensive, information, respecting the face and soil of the country,—the distances and bearings of places,—and the number, size, and strength, of nearly all the enemy's fortresses.

His letter from the French commandant, determined Governor Dinwiddie to raise a regiment of three hundred men, for the defence of what was claimed as British territory. Mr. Washington solicited and obtained the post of lieutenant-colonel;\* and was permitted to lead two companies in advance, as far as the Great Meadows. Soon after his arrival, some friendly Indians brought him the intelligence, that a detachment of the French was on its march to his camp. He resolved to anticipate M. Jumonville; and, taking the Indians for guides, he set out in a dark and rainy night; and, by day-break, had reached, surrounded, and captured the French party. One man escaped; and the commander was among the killed. The Americans returned to the Great Meadows: the arrival of the other Virginia troops, and of two companies from South Carolina and New York, increased their numbers to four hundred effective men; and the death of Colonel Fry devolved the com-

\* See Note (R).

mand upon Lieutenant-Colonel Washington. A small stockade was erected; and Colonel Washington commenced his march against Fort Du Quesne. At the westernmost foot of Laurel Hill, thirteen miles from the Meadows, he received information, from the Indians, that the French, with their savage allies, 'as numerous as the pigeons in the woods,' were rapidly advancing to meet him. His troops had already been six days without bread: their stock of meat was nearly exhausted; and, as the enemy might easily cut off all supplies, by getting in their rear, it was thought most prudent to re-occupy the Great Meadows, and commence a ditch around what was now called Fort *Necessity*. The work was arrested, by the appearance of the enemy; who, about fifteen hundred in number, immediately made an assault. The Americans received them, with the most stedfast intrepidity. The action commenced at ten in the morning: it was continued, with mutual ardour, through the day; and, at dark, M. Villier called for a parley, and offered the terms, upon which, he supposed, the American commandant would be induced to surrender. The terms were rejected; and, though Colonel Washington, at last, signed a capitulation, it was only with the express proviso, that his troops should march out, with the honours of war, and be unmolested, in their re-

turn to Virginia. The legislature voted thanks to the officers,\* and three hundred pistols for the soldiers.

M. Villier published an account of this affair; and, as the capitulation had been drawn up hastily, and in French, Colonel Washington was surprised to find, that, when literally translated, his language plainly admitted M. Jumonville to have been *assassinated*. This circumstance was by no means overlooked, when it afterwards became expedient to vilify Washington,—and when the conclusive explanation, afforded by the following extract from one of his letters, was supposed to have been forgotten: ‘That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter, (says he,) in regard to the word *assassination*, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue; therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss* of Sieur Jumonville. So we received, and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise, in a literal translation.’

As soon as the Virginia regiment was reinforced with some companies from North Carolina and Maryland, the lieutenant-governor ordered it to march immediately for the frontiers; though the whole num

\* See Note (S).



ber of men did not exceed half those of the enemy; and though they were entirely destitute of every requisite for a winter campaign. The ‘worshipful ‘house of burgesses’ gave directions, also, that the regiment should be immediately filled up; but not a single shilling was voted for the purpose: the assembly rose, without taking any further steps in the business; and, in spite of all his remonstrances, Colonel Washington was grieved to see the season of action pass away, without any prospect of retrieving the fortunes of the colony. To complete his mortification, orders were received, in the course of the winter, that all the regular officers should rank above the provincial. He indignantly threw up a commission, which could only be retained on these humiliating terms; and, retiring to an estate, on the Potowmac, which had been left to him by his brother, Mr. Lawrence Washington,—and which he called *Mount Vernon*, after the admiral of that name,—he passed his time in domestic pursuits; till the invitation of General Braddock induced him to re-enter the army, as a volunteer aid.

General Braddock entertained no doubt, that the tactics, which he had learned in countries, where the roads are numerous, and the ground level, would answer equally for trackless deserts and almost impassable mountains. It was not until the army had consumed a great deal of valuable time, in marching

over five miles a day, that he would adopt the advice of Washington, to change his wagons for pack-horses: and, 'instead of disregarding a little rough 'road,' (to use the words of the latter,) his troops must proceed according to the usages of regular warfare; stopping to 'level every mole-hill, and to erect 'bridges over every brook.' On the third day of the march from Wills' Creek, Mr. Washington himself was taken with a raging fever; and had to exchange his horse for a covered wagon. At the Great Crossing of the Yohogany, the physician declared, that his life would be endangered, by proceeding farther; and General Braddock peremptorily commanded him to stop. He obeyed; but not without exacting a solemn promise, that he should be carried in front, before the army reached Du Quesne; and, as we have already related, he was able to be present, and to perform his duties, at the disastrous battle of Monongahela. Indeed, he was soon the *only* officer on horseback, who could perform his duties. All the others were either killed or wounded: two horses were shot under himself: four balls passed through his clothes; and, says Dr. Craik, an eye-witness, 'I expected, every moment, to 'see him fall.' He was among the last who turned their backs; and assisted Captain Stewart and a servant, in bringing off the tumbril, with the commander in chief.

He attributed the defeat entirely to the cowardice and misconduct of the regulars. ‘They were struck with such an inconceivable panic,’ says he, in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, ‘that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers in general behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being upwards of sixty killed and wounded, a large proportion out of what we had. The Virginia companies behaved like men, and died like soldiers; for I believe, out of three companies on the ground that day, scarce thirty men were left alive. Captain Peronny, and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed: Captain Poulson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly behaviour of the regular troops, (so called,) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty, to almost certain death; and at length, in spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke, and ran as sheep before hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavoured to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground, and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to stop the wild boars of the mountains, or the rivulets with our feet; for they would break by in spite of every effort to prevent it.’ ‘We have been beaten, (says he, in another

letter,) shamefully beaten, by a handful of men, who only intended to molest and disturb our march! Victory was their smallest expectation! but see the wondrous works of Providence, the uncertainty of human things! We, but a few moments before, believed our numbers equal to the force of Canada; they only expected to annoy us. Yet, contrary to all expectation, and human probability, and even the common course of things, we were totally defeated, and have sustained the loss of every thing.'

After so utter a discomfiture, no further aid could, for the present, be expected from the regular troops; and the legislature of Virginia resolved to put Colonel Washington at the head of a provincial regiment, and to make him commander in chief of all the forces, which had been, or should be, raised in that colony. He immediately set about arrangements for recruiting the new troops, and re-organizing the old: and he was returning from a visit of inspection to the frontier posts,—when an express arrested him with the tidings, that the French and Indians had made an irruption, and were ravaging the back country, far and near. He found all in confusion at Winchester. As every man must attend to his own particular affairs, no menace or exhortation could bring the militia into the field; and, though orders were immediately despatched to the newly-appointed officers, and to the county lieu-



tenants, below the Blue Ridge, the enemy re-crossed the mountains, before any troops arrived at the scene of action. A second irruption took place in the spring of the following year, 1756; and a second abortive effort was made to oppose them, with something like an effective force. The enemy drew courage from this impotence; and their murders and robberies were frequently committed under the walls, and at the very gates, of the forts. Of the frontier inhabitants, who were left alive, some fled from the country, some threw themselves upon their more eastern neighbours, and the rest huddled together in small stockade fortifications. The eyes and the prayers of all were directed to Colonel Washington; whose delicate and embarrassing situation can only be described in his own warm and energetic language. ‘I see their situation, (he writes to the lieutenant-governor,) I know their danger, and participate their sufferings. without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants now in forts must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon

the officers in general, which is reflecting on me in particular for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kind, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining reputation in the service; cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command, from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit: but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here.' And he adds, 'the supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy: provided that would contribute to the people's ease.'

Such representations as these, at length, induced the assembly to resolve, that the Virginia regiment should be increased to fifteen hundred men; and that the militia should be drafted or conscribed to fill up the number. In an address to the speaker, Colonel Washington insisted, that it would be impossible to defend so extensive a frontier, with short of two thousand men; that the woods seemed to be 'alive with French and Indians;' and that, as the inhabitants had already been driven over the North Mountain, near

Winchester, so Blue Ridge must shortly become the western boundary, unless the legislature would supply him with more numerous reinforcements. One half of the militia in the neighbouring counties were then ordered out; and a company of one hundred gentlemen volunteers, was organized by Mr. Peyton Randolph, the attorney-general. Express vainly followed express, to bring the militia upon the ground, in season: the enemy re-crossed the mountains again, about the last of April; and, just at the time when they were not needed, the troops began to make their appearance. By the recommendation of Colonel Washington, a part of this breathing-time was occupied in erecting a fort at Winchester,—and in re-modelling the military laws of the colony. At first, the most serious offences were scarcely punishable at all; and, even though the assembly now went so far as to make desertion and mutiny capital, they still permitted a soldier to fly before the enemy, or to sleep on his post, with impunity. But the most ruinous part of the system, was, that no court-martial could be called, without an order from the governor; and that the commander in chief could take no measure of importance, without submitting it to the ratification of the assembly. The soldiers received but eight pence a day; or, rather, only six pence; for two pence were stopped for their clothes. After such specimens of

legislation, can we wonder, that, as late as the fall of the year, the regiment did not amount to one thousand men? That the house of burgesses should think fifteen hundred men, even if raised, could adequately defend a frontier of four hundred miles? And that, when they were solicited for permission to withdraw the garrison from Fort Cumberland, at Wells' Creek, because it was distant from the line of defence and required a great number of soldiers,—they answered, that the place must not be abandoned, because it was '*a king's fort*'?

Nor was this all. After the campaign of 1756, Colonel Washington visited, in person, the southwestern frontier; and the result of his observations is sufficient to do away all our surprise, that Virginia could not better defend herself against the inroads and ravages of the French and their allies. He set out from Fort Trial, on Smith's River, with a guard of thirty men; though he tells us, it was only 'by the protection of Providence,' and not by any services of these 'hooping, hallooing, gentlemen soldiers,' that he was enabled to perform the tour, without falling into the hands of the enemy. One-third of the militia had been ordered to be on duty at a time: hardly one-thirtieth were actually in the field; and even this thirtieth 'would come and go when they pleased,' without regard to time, orders, or circumstances. In



many instances, the companies consisted of merely the captain, or the lieutenant, or the ensign, with two or three sergeants, and six or eight men: and, let what would be the consequences, the moment that their time expired, 'they marched off,' for home. They were enlisted for one month: half of that period was lost in going and returning; and, as those from the neighbouring counties must be on duty some time before they reached their posts, double sets of men were frequently in pay at the same time, and for the same service. They considered it as 'the highest indignity' to have 'allowances' dealt out to them, like other soldiers; and, instead of carrying provisions on their backs,—which 'they would have starved,' rather than submit to,—they made a breakfast, a dinner, or a supper, of the first ox, or other animal, which they encountered. None of the forts were in a posture of defence: no guards were kept, 'but just when the enemy was absent;' and the garrisons wasted the time and the ammunition in firing at targets, for wagers. 'As we approached one of the forts, (says Washington,) we heard a quick fire for several minutes; and, concluding, certainly, that they were attacked, we marched in the best manner to their relief; but when we came up we found them diverting themselves at marks.' To complete the picture, 'every mean individual had his own crude notion of things, and must

undertake to direct. If his advice was neglected, he thought himself slighted, abused, and injured, and to redress his wrongs, would depart for his home.'

This tour served to confirm an opinion, which Colonel Washington had already entertained, that nothing would ever be done by pursuing a system of defensive operation; and that the only effectual way of securing the tranquillity of the frontiers, would be, by attacking the enemy in his strong hold; by striking, at once, at the cause of the evil, instead of endeavouring to counteract its effects. Du Quesne not only gave the French the command of all the adjacent country; but ensured them the friendship of all the neighbouring savages, and afforded a convenient rendezvous, for a system of irruption and plunder. They sallied forth; divided themselves into small parties; and were almost always able to break in upon the frontier settlements; snatch their booty, and be off, before any force could be rallied to oppose them. 'We (says Washington) are either insensible of danger until it breaks upon our heads; or else, through mistaken notions of economy, evade the expense until the blow is struck, and then run into an extreme of raising militia. These, after an age, as it were, is spent in assembling them, come up, make a noise for a time, oppress the inhabitants, and then return, leaving the frontiers unguarded as before. This is still

our reliance, notwithstanding former experience convinces us, if reason did not, that the French and Indians are watching the opportunity, when we shall be lulled into fatal security, and unprepared to resist an attack, to invade the country, and by ravaging one part, terrify another; that they retreat when our militia assemble, and repeat the stroke as soon as they are dispersed; that they send down parties in the intermediate time to discover our motions, procure intelligence, and sometimes to divert the troops.' At every one of these incursions, some inhabitants were killed; many quit the country; and Colonel Washington declares, in one of his numerous letters on this subject, dated in 1756, that, unless the next campaign should be opened with offensive operations, the settlers beyond the Blue Ridge, had taken an unalterable resolution of emigrating to some other colony.

Almost all his letters to government teemed with arguments and solicitations, to make the war offensive on their part. His zeal for such a system, amounted almost to enthusiasm; and he repeated, with a perseverance worthy of Cato, *that Du Quesne must be destroyed*. The frequency and the earnestness, with which he dwelt upon the topic, seem to have become extremely vexatious to Governor Dinwiddie; who was a weak, and, therefore, an obstinate man; and who appeared to take an envious pleasure in thwarting

the hopes, and deranging the plans, of the commander in chief. 'Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant, (the latter writes to a friend,) but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers, are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country, perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain. To-day approved, to-morrow condemned; left to act and proceed at hazard; accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of defence.' 'However, (he subjoins,) I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments, some time longer, in the hope of better regulations under Lord Loudoun.' This hope, like the rest, was utterly disappointed. With all his strong and eloquent representations to Lord Loudoun, whom he visited, at Philadelphia, he could not procure more than twelve hundred troops, for the service of all the middle and southern colonies. His own government, in the mean time, was obliged to furnish four hundred men for the defence of South Carolina. The regiment for its own protection, instead of being increased to two thousand, as he had again and again recommended, was improvidently reduced to one; and, of that one, not more than a third ever appeared in the field.



Nor were these all the mortifying circumstances, under which the commander in chief was obliged to 'bear up.' In his busy application to the duties of his office, and the interests of the colony, he spoke, with sincerity and freedom, of every thing, which related to the conduct of the war. Mr. Dinwiddie's patience was, at length, exhausted; and he not only told Colonel Washington, that he was impertinent in his observations,—but accused him of being loose in his behaviour, and remiss in his duty. 'It is with pleasure (he mildly answered) I receive reproof, when reproof is due; because no person can be readier to accuse me, than I am to acknowledge an error, when I have committed it; nor more desirous of atoning for a crime, when I am sensible of being guilty of one. But, on the other hand, it is with concern I remark, that my best endeavours lose their reward, and that my conduct, although I have uniformly studied to make it as unexceptionable as I could, does not appear to you in a favourable point of light. Otherwise your honour would not have accused me of *loose* behaviour, and *remissness* of duty, in matters, where, I think, I have rather exceeded, than fallen short of it.' In another letter, not long subsequent to this, Colonel Washington solicited permission to visit Williamsburg. Mr. Dinwiddie abruptly answered, that he had often been indulged, and ought not again

to ask for leave of absence. He patiently rejoined, that, 'to give a more succinct account of affairs (on the frontier) than I could in writing, was the principal, among many other reasons, that induced me to ask leave to come down. It was not to enjoy a party of pleasure, that I asked leave of absence: I have been indulged with few of those, winter or summer.'

It was not Mr. Dinwiddie alone, who attacked the character of Colonel Washington. His other enemies (for such a man, of course, had enemies) pretermitted no opportunity to belie and traduce him; and, on one occasion, he received from the governor an envious and cowardly paper, which had been circulated at the seat of government; charging him with unskillfulness in the performance of his military duties, and with wilful misrepresentation, in his accounts of affairs on the frontiers. That he had sounded no false alarms, on the latter subject, appeared from what was, as he says, a 'well known fact,' that the inhabitants had, almost to a man, forsaken their dwellings, and either fled to Carolina, or taken refuge in the neighbouring forts. 'And (he asks) did I ever send any alarming account, without sending, also, the original papers, or the copies, which gave rise to it?'

'That I have foibles, (he continues,) and perhaps many of them, I shall not deny; I should esteem my-

self, as the world also would, vain and empty, were I to arrogate perfection.

‘Knowledge, in military matters, is to be acquired by practice and experience only; and, if I have erred, great allowance should be made for my errors, for want of them; unless those errors should appear to be wilful; and then, I conceive, it would be more generous to charge me with my faults, and let me stand or fall, according to evidence, than to stigmatize me behind my back.

‘It is uncertain in what light my services may have appeared to your honour: but this I know, and it is the highest consolation I am capable of feeling, that no man, that ever was employed in a public capacity, has endeavoured to discharge the trust reposed in him, with greater honesty, and more zeal for the country’s interest, than I have done: and if there is any person living, who can say, with justice, that I have done any intentional wrong to the public, I will cheerfully submit to the most ignominious punishment that an injured people ought to inflict. On the other hand, it is hard to have my character arraigned, and my actions condemned, without a hearing.

‘I must, therefore, again beg, in *more plain*, and very *earnest* terms, to know if \*\*\*\* has taken the liberty of representing my conduct to your honour.

with such ungentlemanly freedom as the letter implies? Your condescension herein will be acknowledged as a singular favour.'

Mr. Dinwiddie left the colony, a short time after this; and, along with him, went all that disagreement and calumniation, of which he, and men like him,—too indolent themselves to engage in active public service, and yet ambitious enough to envy those who do,—had ever been the ready promoters. Colonel Washington was gratified to find, that his friend, Mr. Blair, had succeeded to the office of governor: and he was, shortly after, still more pleased to learn, that an expedition was meditated against Fort Du Quesne. He did not fail to urge the necessity of immediate operations; and he was the more anxious to prevent delay, because it would inevitably be the means of losing a body of seven hundred Indians, who had assembled at Winchester. But, like all his former advice, on the same subject, his present suggestions were not, perhaps they could not be, followed. The enemy had another opportunity to overrun and devastate the country. The Virginia regiment was, at length, ordered to assemble at Winchester; but it came destitute of every thing necessary for a campaign; and, in the mean time, the friendly Indians, as had been foretold, lost the little patience, which they possessed, and had departed for home. The Virginia



troops were ordered to Fort Cumberland, in the beginning of July; and, late in the same month, Colonel Bouquet requested an interview with Colonel Washington, on the subject of opening a new road from Raystown to Du Quesne. A wilder project could not have entered his thoughts. The road of General Braddock was originally selected, by the Indians: it had been opened by the Ohio Company, in 1753; was repaired, for a considerable distance, by Colonel Washington, in 1754; and had been widened, and still more improved, by General Braddock, in 1755. A new road would occupy nearly the whole campaign; and, even when finished, must be less commodious, though, perhaps, a little shorter, than the old. The colonies, besides, had nearly exhausted the resources of the Virginians, for this expedition: they looked upon it as the collected and final effort to rid themselves of their calamities; and, if the season should be wasted, without striking the meditated blow at Du Quesne, the only effect of their extraordinary exertions, would be, to render them still more defenceless and unprotected; at the same time, that the audacity of the French, and the contempt of the Indians, would be proportionably increased. Yet, in spite of all these obvious and conclusive objections, Colonel Washington writes to the aid of General Forbes, that he found Bouquet 'unalterably fixed'

upon cutting the new road: and he adds, if the general accedes to the proposition, ‘all is lost! all is lost indeed! our enterprise is ruined, and we shall be stopped at Laurel Hill, this winter—but not to gather laurels.’

This prediction was, in a great measure, fulfilled. Although two hundred men were set to work on the road, about nine weeks were occupied in constructing thirty-five miles; and, notwithstanding the certain intelligence, which was at one time received, that there were only eight hundred French, and half as many Indians, at Fort Du Quesne, the English commander still adhered to the resolution of delaying the attack, till the troops could march by his own way. ‘See, (says Colonel Washington, in a letter to the speaker of the assembly,) see how our time has been misspent—behold how the golden opportunity is lost—perhaps never more to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible. Will, then, our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not: rather let a full representation of the matter go to his majesty: let him know how grossly his glory and interests, and the public money, have been prostituted.’ In another part of the same letter, he eloquently depicts the effect of this dilatoriness upon the spirits and discipline of the army. ‘We are still encamped here, (at

Fort Cumberland, says he,) very sickly, and dispirited at the prospect before us. That appearance of glory, which we once had in view—that hope—that laudable ambition of serving our country, and meriting its applause, are now no more; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, (he adds, in a strain of delicate irony,) can only form conjectures, agreeably to a limited perception; and, being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously, in judging of things from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions—will prattle and talk away; and why may not I? We seem, then, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something—I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue.’

It *was* brought to a happy issue, without the interposition of a miracle; though the English general had certainly done his best, to make it terminate in disaster. Late in October, Major Grant was sent forward with a body of eight hundred men. He succeeded in drawing the enemy from the fort; and, after an

obstinate engagement, was defeated, with the loss of two hundred and seventy-five killed, and forty-two wounded. The general called upon all the colonels, to give him a plan for marching the whole army from Raystown. Whose plan he followed, we are not told; but it was the 5th of November, before the army reached Loyal Hanna, forty-five miles from Raystown; and it had been determined, in a council of war, to relinquish the further prosecution of the campaign;—when some deserters brought the intelligence, that the French had been abandoned by the Indians; and that, being cut off from reinforcements and supplies through Canada, by the success of the English fleet and armies, in the north, they must fall an easy prey to any respectable force. Colonel Washington was entrusted with the arduous duty of opening the way for the main army: and we have already related, that the enemy did not await an attack. Colonel Washington returned to Williamsburg; and took his seat in the assembly, as a representative for the county of Frederick.\* His commission was resigned; and he soon after married the widow of Mr. Custis, a lady to whom he had been long attached; and who possessed every qualification, both of fortune and of person, to ensure him the enjoyment of domestic felicity.

We cannot better close this chapter, than by

\* See Note (T)



extracting a part of the address, which Colonel Washington received from his officers, on the occasion of his resigning the command of the Virginia regiment. It has an air of truth and of affection, which distinguishes it from all other papers of the same sort; and we have little doubt, that, as it was written by those who had lived and acted with him, during all the trying events of the war, it contains the only faithful picture, which could be drawn, of his early character and habits.

‘In our earliest infancy (say they) you took us under your tuition, trained us up in the practice of that discipline, which alone can constitute good troops; from the punctual observance of which you never suffered the least deviation.

‘Your steady adherence to impartial justice, your quick discernment, and invariable regard to merit, wisely intended to inculcate those genuine sentiments of honour, and passion for glory, from which the greatest military achievements have been derived, first heightened our mutual emulation, and desire to excel. How much we improved, by those regulations, and your own example; with what alacrity we have hitherto discharged our duty; with what cheerfulness we have encountered the severest toils, especially while under your particular directions: we submit to

yourself, and flatter ourselves that we have, in a great measure, answered your expectations.

‘Judge, then, how sensibly we must be affected, with the loss of such an excellent commander, such a sincere friend, and so affable a companion. How rare is it to find those amiable qualifications blended together in one man! How great the loss of such a man! Adieu to that superiority, which the enemy have granted us over other troops, and which even the regulars and provincials have done us the honour publicly to acknowledge! Adieu to that strict discipline and order, which you have always maintained! Adieu to that happy union and harmony, which have been our principal cement!’

‘It gives us additional sorrow, when we reflect, to find our unhappy country will receive a loss, no less irreparable than our own. Where will it meet a man, so experienced in military affairs? One so renowned for patriotism, conduct, and courage? Who has so great a knowledge of the enemy we have to deal with? Who so well acquainted with their knowledge and strength? Who so much respected by the soldiery? Who, in short, so able to support the military character of Virginia?’

## NOTES.

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### NOTE (A). P. 1.

THE question of Columbus' birth place has been agitated more than three centuries; and it is but a few years, since the subject called forth one prolix volume from the academy of Turin, and another, from that of Genoa. Columbus himself seems to have studied to keep the place a secret; and it is somewhat remarkable, that his own son, who has written his life, and who was sixteen years old, at his death, should have been so negligent as not to ask the question, or so unsuccessful as to obtain no answer. Piedmont, Placentia, Genoa, Savoy, and Laguria, have all been ready to claim the discoverer of the New World; but, with the exception of Genoa, their claims have little to support them. In his will, dated in 1494, Columbus describes himself as a Genoese: and an expression in the life by his son, is supposed to prove, that, if any of these countries was the place, it must have been Genoa. 'Some persons,' says he, 'would have him essay to trace the admiral's descent from noble blood, but that he refrained therefrom,—believing that our Lord, who had elected him for so great a work as the one he did accomplish, and appointed him his chosen apostle, whom he had called from the *seas and rivers*, and not from high places and palaces, to make known his name to the nations.'

It has been said, that Henry VII. gave no encouragement to Bartholomew Columbus; and that his discouraging answer was communicated to Christopher, before he applied to the court of Castile. But it appears from the life by Don Ferdinand, his son, that the king of England at once yielded to the proposal; and that the admiral did not hear from his brother, until after he had performed his second voyage. ‘But to return to the king of England, I say, that after he had seen the map, and that which my father, Christopher Columbus, offered unto him, he accepted the offer with joyful countenance, and sent to call him into England. But because God had reserved the said offer for Castile, Columbus was gone in the mean space, and also returned with the performance of his enterprise.’ This life of Columbus is extremely scarce; and we have taken our translation from HACKLUYT’s *Travels*, pt. iii. p. 508.

Just before Columbus arrived at Lisbon, on his return from the first voyage, he experienced a very dangerous storm; and, fearing that he might be cast away in such another, while sailing to Palos, the seat of the Spanish government, he addressed a letter to Don Raphael Sanzio, the king’s treasurer; in which he gives a cursory account of his discoveries. Till within a short time, this precious document was very rare; and even Dr. Robertson, who is called ‘the most diligent of mankind,’ appears to have been ignorant of its existence. The English reader is indebted for it to the *Edinburgh Review*; the conductors of which have given us an account of the only copies, that are known to exist. The most ancient,—the one, from which they made a translation,—was printed in 1493, and is in the Brera library, at Milan. Three are in the French king’s library, at Paris, dated 1494. Another is found in a volume published at Bazil, in 1533;



and it was next inserted in the *Hispania Illustrata*, published at Frankfort, in 1603. The seventh is in the Magleabechi library, at Florence; and the eighth, in the Casanata library, at Rome. It is of considerable length; and, instead of being filled with wild and incredible stories, contains a pertinent, business-like account of what had been discovered, and every where speaks the good sense, acuteness, and humanity of the writer. It is such an account as may be depended upon; and we shall make no apology for laying a part of it before our readers.

‘Of this island, (Hispana says he,) and of all the others which I have seen or obtained any knowledge of, the inhabitants go naked, both sexes alike, just as they were born; except that some of the women have a leaf, or some sort of cotton covering, which they themselves prepare for that purpose, about their middles. As I have already said, all these people are entirely without iron of any sort. They are also without arms, of which they know not the use, and indeed would be ill adapted to make use of them; not from any bodily defects, for they are well formed, but because they are so remarkably timid and fearful. The only kind of arms they possess are canes parched in the sun, on the roots of which they fix a sort of spear-head of dry wood, sharpened into a point: yet these they do not often dare to use; for it frequently happened when I had sent two or three of my men to some of the villages, that they might have communication with the inhabitants, a whole body of Indians would come out: but no sooner did they see our men approach, than off they set; parents deserting their children, and children their parents, without any scruple. Nor was this owing to any violence on my part, as I was particularly anxious that they should meet with no injury;—on the contrary, among whatever people I landed, or whom I could bring to

a conference, I always imparted to them, in quantities, whatever I happened to have,—such as clothes, and many other things, nor took any thing from them in return. But they are by nature of a very timid disposition. Whenever they know themselves to be in safety, however, and get over their fears, they are an uncommonly simple and honest people; very liberal in bestowing whatever they possess. They never refuse a request: nay, they themselves invited us to make demands of them. They have in truth the show of the greatest good will to all: they give things of great value for what is of scarce any; and are, indeed, content with very little or nothing in exchange. I however made a point that they should not be imposed upon by the very trifling and worthless articles which were apt to be given them,—such as broken bits of earthen ware, or of glass,—likewise nails; although the truth is, if they might but obtain these, they thought themselves possessed of the most beautiful ornaments in the world. A sailor, on one occasion, got for one nail as great a weight of gold as would have made three golden nobles: and in the same way for other articles of still less value, they gave whatever the purchaser was inclined to ask them. But because I felt this to be an unjust species of traffic, I forbid it; and gave them many useful and beautiful articles which I had brought along with me, without any return being asked; that I might render them more friendly to me,—that I might gain them over to the Christian faith. They have no idolatry amongst them; but seem to have a firm persuasion, that all force, power, and all good things come from Heaven,—from whence, indeed, they imagined that I had come down with my ships and sailors.

‘ In all these islands, according to my information, no man has more than one wife, except the chiefs and kings, who may have as many as twenty. The women seem to work more than

the men; and I have not been able to discover, whether there is any such thing as separate property; for I have always seen these people impart to each other whatever they had, particularly food, and things of that sort. I found no ministers among them, as some have imagined, but every where men of very estimable and benign aspect. Neither are they black like the Africans: their hair is smooth and long.'

*Edin. Rev.* vol. xxvii. p. 505. *et seq.*

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NOTE (B). P. 14.

Captain Smith was born in England, in 1597. At the age of thirteen, he sold his school books and sachel, to equip himself for sea. His plot was discovered; and, instead of going before the mast, he was put behind the counter. He ran from his master at fifteen; and, after travelling for some time, on the continent, returned to England, and betook himself to the study of history and military tactics. Setting out again upon his travels, he embarked, at Marscilles, for Italy; but a tempest obliged the ship to anchor off Nice; and Smith's companions, who were pilgrims, attributing the storm to his presence, cast him into the sea. He swam ashore; went to Alexandria; and, entering the Austrian service against the Turks, soon displayed himself to so much advantage, that the emperor put him at the head of two hundred and fifty horsemen. At the siege of Regal, Lord Thur-bisha sent a message to the army, that, for the diversion of the ladies, he would fight any Christian soldier, who might accept his challenge. Smith rode forth: the ladies stood on the battlements: the champions met; and Smith soon bore away the head

of his antagonist. Another, and a third, challenge were sent; and Smith served all the three champions in the same manner. He was, at length, taken prisoner; but, killing his master, he escaped to Russia; whence he returned to England; and, having succeeded but ill in the Old World, determined to try his fortune in the New. He was not very fastidious in his means of forcing the Indians to pay tribute, or of keeping his own people in subjection. He stole *Okee*, the god of the aborigines; and, when they came to reclaim him, compelled them to bring his ransom, in large quantities of Indian corn. The great part of the settlers had emigrated, in the hope of making a fortune, without toil; and, as they now found themselves obliged to blister their hands with work, their impatience often exploded in an oath. Smith caused every oath to be noted; and, at night, a can of water, for each, was poured into the blasphemer's sleeve.

In the history of De Soto's expedition, there is a parallel to the adventure with Pocahontas. John Ortez, of Seville, in Spain, having sailed with Pamphilio de Narvaez, in 1527, was afterwards sent back to this country in a brigantine. The aborigines enticed him and another to come on shore; and, with their usual good faith, seized them both, and killed the latter. 'Veita (the king) commanded them to bind John Ortez, head and foot, upon four stakes, aloft upon a loft, and to make a fire under him, that there he might be burned: but a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleging, that one only Christian could do him neither hurt or good; telling him, it was more for his honour to keep him as a captive. And Veita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds.' For a time, he was treated with great kind-



ness; but, at length, losing the favour of the king, he was about to be sacrificed to the evil spirit,—when his good genius again contrived to save his life. ‘John Ortez,’ says the historian, ‘had notice, by the damsel that had delivered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him, the day following, who willed him to flee to Macoço, (a neighbouring king,) for she knew that he would use him well: for she heard say, that he had asked for him, and said he would be glad to see him: and, because he knew not the way, she went with him a half a league out of town, by night, and set him in the way, and returned, because she would not be discovered.’

DE SOTO, pp. 22, 23.



NOTE (C). P. 15.

There raged, at this period, and for a long time after, a sort of epidemic notion, that the whole hemisphere of America was pregnant with gold and silver. The infatuation extended even to the sober colonists of Connecticut. In 1712, two copper mines were discovered; one at Simsbury, the other at Wallingford; and, conceiving, that the copper ore might contain the more precious metals, the proprietors obtained, from the general court, an act, which exempted the miners from military duty. for four years. Two other acts were subsequently passed, to promote the same object; but, after excavating the mine at Simsbury, for more than a dozen years, the proprietors despaired of finding gold or silver: the project was abandoned; and the immense cavity, which had been dug, was turned into a New-gate. We shall here extract a curious passage from TRUM-

BULL's *History of Connecticut*; which, if true, may serve to cool the ardour of any such persons as still expect to amass fortunes, by working mines in North America.

‘ Though mines of gold, silver, precious metals and minerals have been esteemed of great value, and sought after with great pains and expectations, yet they are by no means so enriching as is generally imagined. The rich mines of the south, were men hired to dig, refine, and go through the various operations necessary to produce gold and silver coins, at the wages commonly given in this country, would not bear the expense. President Clap, (of Yale College,) who well understood the history of this business, and was an accurate computer of expenses, observed, that, if the king of Spain were to give his workmen in the mining and refining business, the moderate wages of six pence sterling a day, it would break him. It was because the business was principally done by slaves and convicts, to whom he gave no wages, and whom he but miserably clothed and fed, that he made such profits by them. Mines of coarser metals than those of gold and silver, are often the most profitable, because they are much more abundant in the ores which they contain, and they are prepared for use at a far less expense. For these reasons, mines of copper, or lead, may yield as great or greater profits than those of gold and silver.’

TRUMB. *Hist.* 1818. vol. i. pp. 45-6.



NOTE (D). P. 21.

It is still a *quæstio vexata*, whether Sir Walter Raleigh, or Sir Francis Drake, first introduced tobacco into England. In France, we are told, it was named *Nicotiana*, after one John

Nicotia, who was the French ambassador to Lusitania, in 1559; and enjoys the undisputed distinction of having brought it thence into his master's dominions. In England, it was generally called by the name of the place where it grew. *Trinidado* was once the most celebrated; but it seems not to have equalled the produce of *Tobago*; and the name of that little island has, at length, swallowed up all others.

Many grave treatises have been written upon the virtues of tobacco; and it was once supposed, that there is no disease incident to the human frame, for which it did not constitute a sovereign remedy. But it had its enemies, as well as its friends. In England, particularly, it was considered as the rankest of all poisons; and many seemed to think, that the fate of the kingdom depended upon its extirpation. Among its most determined enemies, was King James I.; who, forgetting that mankind have derived from their first parents an unconquerable appetite for a thing forbidden, undertook to stop the use of it, by a species of persecution. He could not even take a journey of pleasure, without waging war upon what he considered as the root of all evil; and, when at Oxford, in 1605, he seriously proposed the question, and sat as moderator while it was discussed—*Utrum frequens suffitus Nicotianæ exoticæ sit sanis salutaris?*\*

Nor was this the end of his extravagance. He published a book upon the subject; and, of all the works, which his ambition of literature induced him to write, perhaps the *Counterblast*

\* We believe, the only diseases, for which tobacco is now used as a remedy, are tetanus and incarcerated hernia. It has been tried in hydrophobia; but did not prove a cure.

to *Tobacco* will give him the best title to the name of author. He was a great zealot for the divine right of kings; but, whatever might have been the sanctity of his character, he could use as sublunary language as almost any mere mortal. His introductory *blast* is as follows:—

‘*Tobacco* being a common herb, which (though under divers names) grows almost every where, was first found out by some of the barbarous Indians, to be a preservative or antidote against a filthy disease, whereunto these people are, as all men know, very subject, what through the uncleanly and adust constitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heat of their climate: so that as from them we first brought into Christendom, that most detestable disease, so from them also was brought this use of *tobacco*.’

‘And now, good countrymen, let us (I pray you) consider what honour or policy can move us to imitate the barbarous and beastly manners, of the wild, godless, and slavish Indians, especially in so vile and stinking a custom? Shall we that disdain to imitate the manners of our neighbour France, (having the style of the first christian kingdom,) and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards, (their king being now comparable in largeness of dominions, to the great emperor of Turkey,) shall we, I say, that have been so long civil and wealthy in peace, famous and invincible in war, fortunate in both; we that have been ever able to aid any of our neighbours, (but never deafened any of their ears with any of our supplications for assistance,) shall we, I say, without blushing abuse ourselves so far, as to imitate these beastly Indians, slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy covenant of God? Why do we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they do? in preferring glasses, feathers, and such toys, to



gold, and precious stones, as they do? Why do we not deny God and adore the Devil, as they do?’

*Works of KING JAMES*, pp. 214-215.

After a few more denunciations, in the same strain, the divine author proceeds to disprove the reasoning of his antagonists. ‘First, it is thought by you, (says he,) a sure aphorism in physics, that the brains of all men, being naturally cold and wet, all dry and hot things should be good for them; of which nature this stinking suffumigation is.’ To show the utter falsity of this notion, the king lays it down, as a postulate, that ‘man is compounded of the four complexions, whose fathers are the four elements;’ and, having reasoned over a page, from these premises, he enters upon the discussion of the main question, under four distinct heads:—‘two founded upon the theorick of a deceivable appearance of reason, and two of them upon the mistaken practick of general experience.’ We cannot pretend to follow the royal dialectician through all the developments of his subject. One or two passages must suffice:—

‘Such,’ says he, ‘is the miraculous omnipotence of our strong tasted tobacco, as it cures all sorts of diseases in all persons, and at all times. It cures the gout in the feet, and in the very instant when the smoke thereof, as light, flies up into the head, the virtue thereof, as heavy, runs down into the little toe.\*

\* There is scarcely an author of the age of James, who does not mention tobacco; and, in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson introduces Bobadil and Cob as the respective champions for and against its remedial efficacy.

‘*Bob.* Sir, believe me, upon my relation, for what I tell you this world shall not reprove. I have been in the Indies, where this herb grows, where with myself, nor a dozen gentlemen more of my knowledge have received the taste of any other nutriment in the world, for the space of

O omnipotent tobacco! And if it could by the smoke thereof chase out devils, as the smoke of Tobias' fish did, (which I am sure could be made no stronglier,) it would serve for a precious relick, both for the superstitious priests, the insolent puritans, to cast out devils withal.' *Works*, pp. 219-20.

'I read, indeed,' says the king, in another place, 'of a knavish courtier, who, for abusing the favour of the Emperor Alexander Severus, his master, by taking bribes to intercede, for sundry prisoners, in his majesty's ear, (for whom he never once opened his mouth,) was justly choked with smoke, with this doom,

one and twenty weeks, but the fume of this simple only : therefore, it cannot be, but 'tis most divine. Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind ; so, it makes an antidote, that, had you taken the most deadly poisonous plant in all Italy, it should expel it, and clarify you with as much ease as I speak. And, for your green wound,—your balsam-urn and your St. John's wort, are all mere gulleries and trash to it, especially your Trinidado : your Nicotian is good too. I could say what I know of the virtue of it for the expulsion of rheums, raw humours, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind : but I profess myself no quacksalver, only thus much ; by Hercules, I do hold it, and will affirm it before any prince in Europe, to be the most sovereign and precious weed that ever the earth tendered to the use of man.'

'*Cob.* Odds me, I marvel what pleasure or felicity they have in taking this roguish tobacco. Its good for nothing but to choke a man, and fill him full of smoke and embers : there were four died out of one house last week with taking of it, and two more the bell went for yesternight : one of them, they say, will never scape it : he voided a bushel of soot yesterday, upward and downward. By the stocks, an there were no wiser men than I, I'd have it present whipping, man or woman, that should but deal with a tobacco-pipe : why, it will stifle them all in the end, as many as use it ; its little better than ratsbane or rosaken. [*Bobadil beats him.*']

GIFFORD'S *Ben Jonson*, vol. i. pp. 88-91.

The *Counterblast* contains a passage nearly as extravagant as the anathema of *Cob.*

fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit: but of so many smoke buyers, as are at the present in this kingdom, I never read or heard.'

*Works*, p. 221.

It is almost impossible for a modern to conceive the extent, to which the use of tobacco prevailed, when it first came into fashion. 'No, (says King James,) it is become, in place of cure, a point of good fellowship; and he that will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco among his fellows,' is accounted a rude misanthrope. Again, 'in your persons, (says he,) you have, by this continual vile custom, been reduced to this shameful imbecility, that you are not able to ride or walk the journey of a Jew's sabbath, but you must have a reekie to be brought you from the next poor house, to kindle your tobacco with.' Even in the reign of Queen Anne, the misses took snuff, and the old ladies chewed or smoked tobacco. Swift, in his letters to Miss Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, often mentions the subject of their using snuff; and speaks of sending Brazil tobacco to the latter, as if, like tea or chocolate, it was a matter of course. 'I have (says he) the finest piece of Brazil tobacco for Dingley that ever was born;' and, again, 'I have made Delaval promise to send me some Brazil tobacco from Portugal, for you, Madam Dingley.'\*

King James winds up his *Counterblast* in the following words:—

'A custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.'

*Works*, p. 222.

\* *Works*, by Scott, vol. ii. pp. 25. 96; and in other places.

We know not, that any legislative measures were ever taken in England, to prevent the use of tobacco; but, in the colony of Connecticut, it was thought expedient to pass an express law upon the subject.

‘As tobacco, about this time,’ (1647,) says Mr. Trumbull, ‘was coming into use, a very curious law was made for its regulation or suppression. It was ordered that no person under twenty years of age, nor any other, who had not already accustomed himself to it, should take any tobacco, until he had obtained a certificate from under the hand of an approved physician, that it was useful for him, and until he had also obtained a license from the court. All others, who had addicted themselves to the use of it, were prohibited from taking it, in any company, or at their labours, or in travelling, unless ten miles, at least, from any company; and, though not in company, not more than once a day, upon pain of a fine of six pence for every such offence. One substantial witness was to be a sufficient proof of the crime. The constables of the particular towns were to make presentment to the particular courts, and it was ordered, that the fine should be paid without gainsaying.’

*Hist. of Conn.* vol. i. p. 162.

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NOTE (E). P. 23.

THIS account argues a state of society so different from that of our own day, as to make it appear almost incredible. There is, however, no doubt of the fact. Wives were shipped with the same indifference as any other cargo; and some person in Virginia has recently brought to light the letter of instructions, which accompanied one of the shipments. It is dated August 12th, 1621; and is in these words:—



‘We send you in this ship one widow and eleven maids for wives for the people of Virginia. There hath been especial care had in the choice of them, for there hath not any one of them been received, but upon good recommendations.

‘In case they cannot be presently married, we desire that they may be put in several householders that have wives, till they can be provided with husbands. There are near fifty more, which are shortly to come, are sent by our most honourable lord and treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, and certain worthy gentlemen, who taking into consideration that the plantation can never flourish till families be planted, and the respects of wives and children fix these people on the soil, therefore have given this fair beginning for the reimbursing those charges. It is ordered, that every man that marries them give one hundred and twenty pounds of the best leaf tobacco for each of them.

‘Though we are desirous that the marriage be free according to the law of nature, yet we would not have these maids deceived and married to servants, but only to such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them. We pray you, therefore, to be as fathers of them in this business, not enforcing them to marry against their wills.’

The Earl of Southampton, mentioned in this letter, is distinguished in literary history, as the only known patron of Shakespeare. He was ready on all occasions to foster genius, and promote improvement; and it is, perhaps, chiefly to his exertions, that we owe the original settlement of this country. His life, which was as romantic as his spirit was liberal, may be found in the second volume of DRAKE’S *Shakespeare and his Times*.

## NOTE (F). P. 29.

THE history of Goffe and Whalley is almost romance. It was first given by Mr. Hutchinson,\* from a diary kept by Goffe; and this brief outline was afterwards the basis of a separate volume, by Dr. Stiles, of New Haven.†

William Goffe, the son of a puritan divine, was placed with Mr. Vaughan, a dry-salter, in London; but, disliking trade, at a time when trade was of little consequence, he entered the army; and, attracting the notice of Cromwell, was rapidly promoted from a soldier to a general.‡ He enjoyed Cromwell's utmost confidence; assisted White in purging the commons; was twice returned to parliament; and, at last, made one of the protector's lords.

Edward Whalley was, also, raised from the merchant's counter to the highest station in the commonwealth. He was the cousin of Cromwell; was entrusted by him with the custody of

\* History of Mass. vol. i. p. 215.

† History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I. &c. Hartford, 1794. 12mo. The mottos are from scripture. 'They wandered about—being desolate, afflicted, tormented—they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth.

———'Of whom the world was unworthy.'

'Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.' Heb. xi. 13.

‡ The word *grade* has been ridiculed in England, as a barbarous Americanism. President Stiles here quotes a passage from the *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 79; which may teach the English first to pluck the mote from their own eyes. 'At length, through several military *grades*,' say the *Fasti*, 'he became a colonel.' STILES, p. 17.

the royal prisoner; and, having first sat with the representatives, was afterwards enrolled among the lords.

It was on the 27th of July, 1660, that Goffe and Whalley landed at Boston. They made no secret of their names; appeared openly about the town; attended all prayer-meetings and occasional lectures; and were kindly received not only by Governor Endicot,—but by the great majority of the inhabitants. They are both said to have been expert swordsmen; and a story is still current in New England, whatever may be its title to credit, that one of them soon found occasion to display his dexterity.

‘While at Boston,’ says President Stiles, ‘there appeared a gallant person there, some say a fencing master, who, on a stage erected for the purpose, walked it for several days, challenging and defying any to play with him at swords: at length one of the judges, disguised in a rustic dress, holding in one hand a cheese wrapped in a napkin, for a shield, with a broomstick, whose mop he had besmeared with dirty puddle water as he passed along: thus equipped, he mounted the stage:—the fencing master railed at him for his impudence, asked what business he had there, and bid him begone. The judge stood his ground; upon which the gladiator made a pass at him with his sword, to drive him off: a rencounter ensued: the judge received the sword into the cheese, and held it till he drew the mop of the broom over his mouth, and gave the gentleman a pair of whiskers. The gentleman made another pass, and plunging his sword a second time, it was caught and held in the cheese, till the broom was drawn over his eyes. At a third lounge the sword was caught again, till the mop of the broom was rubbed gently all over his face. Upon this the gentleman let fall or laid aside his small sword, and took up the broadsword, and came upon him with that: upon which the judge

said, stop, sir, hitherto you see I have only played with you, and not attempted to hurt you; but, if you come at me now with the broad-sword, know, that I will certainly take your life. The firmness and determinateness, with which he spake, struck the gentleman, who desisting, exclaimed, who can you be? You are either Goffe, Whalley, or the Devil; for there was no other man in England that could beat me. And so the disguised judge retired into obscurity, leaving the spectators to enjoy the diversion of the scene, and the vanquishment of the boasting champion. Hence it is proverbial in some parts of New England, in speaking of a champion at athletic and other exercises, to say, that none can beat him but Goffe, Whalley, or the Devil.'

STILES, pp. 33-4.

But the judges had soon the prospect of encountering a more dangerous antagonist. A cheese and a broomstick could not avail them against the warrant of the king's officer. They had left England, before Charles II. was proclaimed; and the Bostonians had received them with favour, because they supposed themselves safe. In November, 1660, a vessel from Barbadoes brought the intelligence of the coronation. Many of those, who had kindly protected the judges, now began to tremble for their own safety; and, though others still resolved to stand by men, whom they considered rather as unfortunate than criminal, the colony was not yet ripe for avowed opposition to the king; and our exiles deemed it best to abscond. They vanished from Cambridge, on the 26th of February; and appeared at New Haven, on the 7th of March, 1661.

The day after their arrival, the king's proclamation against them was received at Boston; and, on the 27th of the same month, was brought to New Haven. The Bostonians made a



fictional search through their province; and the people of New Haven contrived to render a search in earnest ineffectual. Goffe and Whalley were received as brothers by Mr. Davenport; and it was doubtless by his advice, that they appeared openly at New Milford, on the 27th, and returned at night to his house in New Haven. In the latter end of April, the governor of Massachusetts received a royal mandate for their apprehension; and, as the affair could no longer be trifled with, he commissioned Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk to make a search through the colonies as far as Manhadoes.

The people of New Haven received the news of this commission; and, to prepare them for the reception of the pursuers, Mr. Davenport preached from Isaiah xvi. 3, 4. 'Take council, execute judgment, make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noon-day; hide the out-casts, bewry not him that wandereth. Let mine out-casts dwell with thee; Moab, be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler.' No royal mandate could prevail against a sermon from such a text; and it so happened, that on the very 11th of May, when Kellond and Kirk arrived at Governor Leet's, the two judges took up their abode in a mill about two miles from New Haven. Governor Leet resided at Guilford, about eighteen miles distant. He detained the pursuers at his house the whole of the 12th; and, while Magistrate Gilbert, in obedience to his instructions, was taking the advice of the town deputies on the subject of apprehending the judges, they had time to secrete themselves in the woods.

On the 13th the pursuers arrived in New Haven. To give his conduct an appearance of activity, Magistrate Gilbert put a warrant into the hands of the sheriff; and he was fortunate enough to encounter the judges near what is called Break Neck Bridge,

over which the pursuers were to pass. They stood manfully upon their defence; kept off the sheriff with clubs; and, while he was gone for help, ran and hid under the bridge. Now, no person could secrete himself under this bridge at high water; and, lest some future historian should take advantage of the circumstance to invalidate the story, Dr. Stiles thinks it prudent to enter into some calculations, which prove, beyond all question, that, when the judges are said to have been there, the water was low. The commissioners slept at Guilford on the 12th; and, as it was eighteen miles to New Haven, they must have arrived about noon the next day. 'From the astronomical or lunar tables, we find, says the doctor, that, on the 13th of May, 1661, the sun was in the second degree of Gemini, and the moon in the first of Aries, or about sixty degrees apart, and so about two days and a half after the last quarter; when it is always high water at New Haven about, or a little after six o'clock, and low water about noon.'

As soon as it was supposed, that the search in New Haven was finished, and the commissioners would begin to prowl in the neighbourhood, the judges most probably came from their lurking-place into the town. They were secreted for the most part in the houses of Mr. Davenport, Mr. Jones, and Mrs. Evers; 'a small, plump, round woman, a worthy character;' who used to hide them in a large wainscotted closet, which, when the door was shut, could not be distinguished from the ceiling. It is probable, that the commissioners re-commenced their search in town on the 14th. When Mrs. Evers saw their red coats approaching her house, she devised an expedient to get rid of them, which, while she supposed it might screen her from the guilt of prevarication, would effectually ensure the safety of her guests.

If she hid them in the closet, how could she say, they were not in her house? But, if she told them to go out of the back door, and return, after a few steps, could she not safely answer, that they had been there,—but had gone away? This reasoning was, at any rate, sufficient to satisfy Mrs. Eyers; and, when the officers entered her house, ‘she put them upon a false scent, and secured her friends.’

New Haven, at this time, contained only one hundred or one hundred and twenty houses: the environs were a complete wilderness; and, with the exception of Derby or Paugasset, there were but two houses between what is called West Rock and Hudson’s River. West Rock, so called to distinguish it from East Rock, is a perpendicular bluff, about three hundred feet high, at the distance of two miles and a half north-west of the town. It is the abrupt termination of a chain of hills, running nearly north and south. A Mr. Sperry owned a farm upon its western base; and it was at his house, that the judges were secreted, after the adventure at Mrs. Eyers’. Persuaded, however, that they could not escape the commissioners, even here, they resolved to bury themselves in a cave, on the west side of the rock.

‘There is a notch,’ says our author, ‘in the mountain against Joseph (Sperry)’s house, through which I ascended along a very steep acclivity up to the cave. From the south side of the mountain for three or four miles northward, there is no possible ascent or descent on the west side, but at this notch, so deep is the precipice of the rock. I found the cave to be formed, on a base of perhaps forty feet square, by an irregular clump or pile of rocks, or huge broad pillars of stone, fifteen and twenty feet high, standing erect and elevated above the surrounding superficies of the mountain; and enveloped with trees and forest. These rocks coalescing or con-



tiguous at top, furnished hollows or vacuities below big enough to contain bedding and two or three persons. The apertures being closed with bows of trees, or otherwise there might be found a well-covered and convenient lodgment. Here, Mr. Sperry told me, was the first lodgment of the judges, and it has ever since gone and been known by the name of the Judges' Cave. Goffe's journal says they entered this cave on the 15th of May, and continued in it till the 11th of June following. Richard Sperry daily supplied their victuals from his house, about a mile off; sometimes carrying it himself, at other times sending it by one of his boys, tied up in a cloth, ordering him to lay it on a certain stump and leave it: and when the boy went for it at night, he always found the basins emptied of the provisions, and brought them home. The boy wondered at it, and used to ask his father the design of it, and he saw nobody. His father only told him there was somebody at work in the woods that wanted it. The son always remembered it, and often told it to persons now living, and to Mr. Joseph Sperry particularly.'

STILES, pp. 76-7.

Here the judges supposed they must be perfectly safe from all harm; but it was not long before they were disturbed with visitors, even more terrible than Kellond and Kirk. This cave, it seems, had been appropriated by one of the panthers, which, at that time, infested the mountain. She came, on the night of the 10th of June, to reclaim her property; and 'one of the judges was so terrified by this grim and ferocious monster, her eyes and her squalling, that he took to his heels, and fled down the mountain.' Both were resolved not to dispute titles with a panther; and, for the present, there was no other resource than to shelter themselves at Mr. Sperry's. The pursuers were, by this time, returned from Manhadoes; and suspecting, or being



informed, that the judges might be at the Sperry farm, they had got within sixty yards of the house, before they were discovered. The judges fled into the wood; and Mr. Sperry gave the officers to understand, that he knew not where they were.

Poor Kellond and Kirk had been most wickedly duped, in all their attempts to ferret out the delinquents; and we can hardly wonder, that they should, at length, get out of patience. That the judges were in the neighbourhood of New Haven, even the people of New Haven did not pretend to deny. It was not possible, therefore, that they should so frequently elude the grasp of their pursuers, without the collusion of the inhabitants; and Mr. Davenport was now threatened, that, unless he would surrender up the regicides, he should suffer the pains and penalties of harbouring and comforting traitors. As soon as the judges heard of this menace, they went immediately to Governor Leet, and offered to surrender themselves. They were told, by their friends, however, that such a step would be unnecessary; and, having cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of their concealment, by showing themselves in public, they bid a final adieu to the world, and retired to the house of a Mr. Tomkins, in Milford. They lodged in the lower room, which had been occupied as a store; and, so effectually did they keep themselves concealed, for more than two years, that even the family, over their heads, were never privy to the fact. ‘While they sojourned in Milford, (says Dr. Stiles,) there came over from England a ludicrous cavalier ballad, satirizing Charles’ judges, and Goffe and Whalley among the rest. A spinstress, at Milford, had learned to sing it; and used sometimes to sing it over the judges; and the judges used to get Tomkins to set the girls to singing that song for their diversion, being humoured and

pleased with it, though at their own expense, as they were the subjects of the ridicule. The girls knew nothing of the matter, being ignorant of the innocent device, and little thought that they were serenading angels.'

In 1664, the king's commissioners arrived at Boston, with instructions to search 'for Colonel Whalley and Colonel Goffe.' A more secluded place than Milford was now thought necessary; and, on the 13th of October, the judges departed for Hadley, then the westernmost settlement of Massachusetts. They travelled only in the night; and secreted themselves in the woods during the day. The Rev. John Russel, the minister of Hadley, received them with great kindness; and his house was their protection for more than a dozen years. It was then the custom of the frontier settlers to attend church, with arms in their hands. On the 11th of September, 1675, the people of Hadley were assembled, to observe a fast, on the occasion of Philip's war,—when they were suddenly surrounded and surprised by a body of Indians.

'Had Hadley been taken, the discovery of the judges would have been inevitable. Suddenly, and in the midst of the people there appeared a man of a venerable aspect, and different from the inhabitants in his apparel, who took the command, arranged, and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction they repelled and routed the Indians, and the town was saved. He immediately vanished, and the inhabitants could not account for the phenomenon, but by considering that person as an angel sent of God upon that special occasion for their deliverance; and, for some time after, said and believed that they had been delivered and saved by an angel. Nor did they know or conceive otherwise till fifteen or twenty years after,

when it at length became known at Hadley, that the two judges had been secreted there; which probably they did not know till after Mr. Russel's death, in 1692.' STILES, pp. 109-10.

The last account we have of these poor men, is in an affectionate letter from Goffe to his wife; with whom he was accustomed to correspond, in the character of mother, and under the name of Goldsmith. This letter, which was dated on the 2d of April, 1679, and which contains the intelligence of Whalley's death, has not been given by Dr. Stiles; but, in another, written in 1674, which he has inserted, we have an affecting account of Whalley's decrepitude, with some curious specimens of Goffe's religious fervour. Among persons of his cast, the scriptures had become a sort of conventional language; and no one could express his own feelings, or his sympathy in the feelings of others, without quoting an authority for his joy or sorrow.

'The world's great things,' says Goffe, 'are indeed and in truth but poor little things, and the saints should look down upon them with contempt, and show themselves to be of high-raised spirits, seeking things truly great, as our Lord himself doth exhort us, Mat. vi. 33. But seek you first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; as if he had said, for they are great things, worthy your affectionate endeavours; and as for all these little things which Gentiles so earnestly pursue, they shall be added unto you, so far as your Heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of them. My poor sister (his daughter) begins her house-keeping at a time when trade is low, and all provisions dear, and I cannot but pity her in that respect. I hope she will not be discouraged, nor her husband neither, but for prevention I desire them to consider seriously and to act faithfully upon that most excellent counsel of our Lord, delivered with

authority in his sermon on the mount, Mat. vi. from the 24th verse to the end of the chapter. I cannot but be full of longings to hear how the Lord hath dealt with her in her lying-in, but I doubt not you will take the first opportunity to inform us of it; in the mean time I shall endeavour to stay myself on the promise made to child-bearing women, 1 Tim. ii. 15.'

STILES, pp. 116, 117.

'Your old friend, Mr. R. (Whalley) is yet living, but continues in that weak condition of which I have formerly given you account, and have not now much to add. He is scarce capable of any rational discourse, his understanding, memory, and speech doth so much fail him, and seems not to take much notice of any thing that is done or said, but patiently bears all things, and never complains of any thing, though I fear it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter for a long time from his cousin Rich, but speaks not one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote of in your last; only after I had read your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts, and indeed he scarce ever speaks any thing, but in answer to questions when they are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them; the common and frequent question is to know how he doth, and his answer, for the most part, is, very well, I praise God, which he utters with a very low and weak voice; but sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill, and then if it be further said, do you feel any pain any where, to that he always answers no; when he wants any thing, he cannot well speak for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes he asks for one thing when he means another, so that his eye or his finger is oftentimes a better interpreter of his mind than his tongue; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signs for them, and some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is



required, having not been able of a long time, to dress or undress himself, nor to feed, &c.' *Ibid.* pp. 18, 19.

The exact years, in which the judges died, or the place or places where they were buried, have not yet been satisfactorily determined. In the old burying-ground at New Haven, there is a pair of rudely-shaped stones, two feet high, and two wide, which bear the initials E. W., and a date, which may be read 1658, or 1678. The 5 on both is the most conspicuous; but the 7 is easily decyphered. Near these, there is another stone, about a foot broad, and ten inches high, with the initials M. G., and the figures 80. There is a third in the same neighbourhood, a little longer than the first, with the inscription, J. D. ESQ. DECEASED MARCH THE 18TH, IN THE 82D YEAR OF HIS AGE, 1688-9. This is known to be the tomb of John Dixwell, another of the judges, who visited Goffe and Whalley, while at Hadley; and who afterwards lived unmolested, at New Haven, under the name of *John Davids*. Now, it was natural, that these three judges should desire to be interred by the side of each other; and it was particularly necessary, that Goffe and Whalley, who were the most obnoxious, should be buried in some other place than that in which they last resided, and with circumstances of obscurity, which might prevent the detection of their graves. Dixwell lived long enough to remove both their bodies. The stones first mentioned, are the meanest in the ground. Whalley was alive in 1674,—but dead in 1679; and the figures on the stone were evidently cut with a design to have them mean either 1658, or 1678. The last we hear of Goffe was in 1679. The 80, on the second stone, may stand for 1680; and the M, which has a dash under it, might have been designed for an inverted W. There is a tradition at New Haven, that these are the graves of Goffe and Whalley.

## NOTE (G). P. 79.

MANY of the persons, who obtained charters for land in the New World, were obliged to submit to some unpleasant compliances; and Penn, no doubt, must have been a little galled, when he found, that his charter was not only granted upon a military consideration,—but made him the military chief of his territory.

## SECTION I.

‘Know ye, therefore, that we (favouring the petition and good purpose of the said William Penn, and having regard to the memory and merits of his late father, in divers services, and particularly to his conduct, courage, and discretion, under our dearest brother, James, Duke of York, in that signal battle and victory, fought and obtained against the Dutch fleet, commanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the year 1665: In consideration whereof, &c.

## SECTION XVI.

‘And because in so remote a country, and situate near many barbarous nations, the incursions as well of the savages themselves, as of other enemies, pirates and robbers, may probably be feared; therefore we have given, and for us, our heirs and successors, do give power by these presents unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns, by themselves or their captains, or other their officers, to levy, muster, and train, all sorts of men, of what condition soever, or wheresoever born, in the said province of Pennsylvania, for the time being, and to make war, and to pursue the enemies and robbers aforesaid, as well by sea as by land, and yea even without the limits of the said province, and by God’s assistance, to vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to death by the law of war, or to

save them, at their pleasure, and to do every other thing which unto the charge and office of a captain-general belongeth or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any captain-general hath ever had the same.'

DALLAS' *State Laws*, vol. i. App. i. pp. 1. 5.



NOTE (H). P. 97.

NEW HAVEN was then called a 'splendid' city, and a few hundred pounds seemed a magnificent donation. A modern reader would hardly suppose, that, in the following sentences, the trustees were talking of three hundred and forty books, and about three hundred pounds' worth of merchandise:—

'GENEROSISSIMA, honoratissimi Domini ELIHU YALE Armigeri, donatione, vigilantes scholæ academicæ, in splendido novi Portus Connecticutensis oppido constitutæ, Curatores, ædificium collegiale inceptum erectumque perficere capaces redditu, honorem tali tantoque Mæcenati patronoque debitum animo gratissimo meditantes, memoriamque tanti beneficii in hanc præcipue coloniam collati, in omne ævum modo optimo perducere studiosi: Nos Curatores, negotii tanti in commune præsertim hujus provinciæ populi bonum momenti cura honorati, *omothumadon* consentimus, statuimus, et ordinamus, nostras ædes academicas patroni munificentissimi, nomine appellari, atque YALENSE COLLEGIUM nominari: ut hæc provincia diuternum viri adeo generosi, qui, tanta benevolentia tantaque nobilitate, in commodum illorum mæcimum propriamque incolarum et in præsentis et futuris sæculis utilitatem consequuit, monumentum: t et conservit.'

TRUMB. vol. ii. p. 28.

## NOTE (I). P. 111.

THIS account is taken from the *Life* of Patrick Henry, by Mr. Wirt; who has done for ‘the Demosthenes of Virginia,’ what we should be glad to see repeated of many other worthies in our early history. This, however, must not be taken for an unqualified approbation of the manner, in which Mr. Wirt’s volume is composed. One is seldom induced to write the life of another, until he has wrought himself into an overweening admiration of his subject; and it is regularly the case, that, instead of making him the theme of history, he treats him as the hero of a romance. It may be the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, that Patrick Henry was ‘the greatest orator that ever lived;’ but no sober man will believe, that the effect of his eloquence, in the *Parsons’ Cause*, was such as it is here represented. See from p. 24 to p. 27, 3d edit.



## NOTE (J). P. 159.

THE state of Wolfe’s feelings will be best ascertained from the beginning and conclusion of his letter to Mr. Pitt, dated

‘*Head Quarters, at Montmorency, in the River St. Lawrence,  
September 2, 1759.*

‘SIR,

‘I wish I could, upon this occasion, have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty’s arms; but the obstacles we have met with, in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had



reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, (though superior to us,) as from the natural strength of the country, which the Marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

‘When I learned that succours of all kinds had been sent into Quebec; that five battalions of regular troops, completed from the best of the inhabitants of the country, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well, that with these troops I was able to fight, and hoping that a victory might disperse them.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘By the list of disabled officers, (many of whom are of rank,) you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting; yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only when there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains shall be employed, (as far as I am able,) for the honour of his majesty and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty’s arms, in any other parts of America.

‘I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, sir,  
your most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES WOLFE.

## NOTE (K). P. 178.

THE Indians have no newspapers; and the historian is, therefore, obliged to rely upon such statements as he finds in those of their enemies. The gazettes of this period abound in exaggerated accounts of Indian barbarities, with anxious apologies for those committed by the English.

‘*Charlestown, Feb. 16, 1760.*

‘The general assembly of this province, in order to protect the back settlers, to relieve Fort Prince George, and to chastise the perfidious Cherokees, for their atrocious breach of the late treaty, and most horrid cruelties and violences, have cheerfully resolved to continue the provincials in pay, to provide for seven troops of rangers, to be immediately raised, consisting of seventy-five men each, besides officers; to whom commissions are already issuing; and to raise, besides, a regiment of foot, to consist of ten companies, of one hundred men each, exclusive of the officers: and likewise to give proper rewards for Indian scalps, and vest the property of Indian prisoners, as slaves, to those who shall take them.’

*Pennsylvania Gazette, March 6, 1760.*

‘*Charlestown, April 22, 1760.*

‘The assembly have resolved that the sum of twenty-five pounds, formerly offered for Cherokee scalps, be augmented to thirty-five pounds, to such as do not receive pay.’

*Ibid. May 22, 1760.*

‘*Charlestown.*

‘If the stratagem, used to get the Indians into our hands, be scarcely justifiable by the law of nations, agreed upon and observed among civilized people, it ought to be considered whether such measures as are found most likely to reduce to reason those savages, who have no regard to civilized nations, are not expedient, and may be allowed, and the present occurrence may and will, it is hoped, by proper management, greatly facilitate the success of future operations.’

*Ibid. June 19, 1760.*

It must not be understood, from these extracts, that the Carolinians alone committed excesses, in the prosecution of Indian warfare. It was too general a practice, throughout the provinces; and, though, at this distant period of safety, we may find reasons to condemn what appears so inhuman, most of us would, probably, hesitate to say, that, had we been in place of the colonists, we would not have adopted their conduct. It had

not yet been determined, which side was the strongest; and, when men are fighting for their existence, they appeal to the first law of nature, to justify measures, which, under different circumstances, they would be the most forward to discountenance.



## NOTE (L). P. 183.

WE suppose, the longest letter ever written by Putnam, was during this expedition. He was conscious of being illiterate; and, as it was prudent to expose his ignorance as little as possible, his notes, through life, were short and unfrequent. The following letter, addressed to Major Drake, of Norwich, in Connecticut, is copied from the *Boston Gazette* of December 24th, 1764. We have never seen it in any other place; and Colonel Humphreys, who has given a pretty minute account of Putnam's life, scarcely mentions the circumstance of his western expedition.\*

‘NEW LONDON, NOV. 30.

‘*Camp, Sandusky, near the Carrying Place,*  
October 7, 1764.

‘DEAR SIR,

‘I can tell you, the land here is good enough, and suppose you will think it strange, if I should tell you, that, in many places in this country, there is ten or twenty thousand acres of land in a place, that has not a bush nor a twigg on it, but all covered with grass so big and high, that it is very difficult to

\* HUMPHREY'S Works, p. 242; *et seq.*

travel—and all as good plough-land as you ever saw; any of it fit for hemp: but there is too many *hemp birds* among it, which will make it very unhealthy to live among.

‘Detroit is a very beautiful place, and the country around it. We sent out an officer and 3 Indians to the Delawares and Shawanese from Priskeal, who returned and were illy used. We sent the like number from Sandusky, but all before any one returned.

‘From Sandusky we sent Capt. Montieur and Capt. Peter; from Maume we sent Capt. Morris of the 17th and one Thomas King with 3 Indians. Capt. Morris returned some time ago, and was much abused and stript and whipt, and threatened to be tomahawk’d, but had his life spared in case he would return. Capt. Thomas King and 3 of the Conowawas proceeded.—This Capt. King is one of the chiefs of the Oneida Castle; and about ten days ago King came into Detroit, and had left all the Conowawas, who gave out for want of provisions and could not travel: he supposed they all perished in the woods. And three days ago he arrived here, and yesterday he had a conference with the Indians; and when all assembled, he made a speech to them: After some talk with them, he expressed himself in this manner:——‘Friends and brothers, I am now about to acquaint you with facts, too obvious to deny: I have been since I left you to Monsieur Pontuck’s camp, and waited on him to see if he was willing to come in, and make peace with our brothers the English. He asked me what I meant by all that; saying you have always encouraged me to carry on the war against the English: and said the only reason you did not join me last year was for want of ammunition: and as soon as you could get ammunition, you would join me.’—King said there was nothing in it: at which Pontuck produced six belts of wampum that he had had last year from the Six



Nations; said, the English were so exhausted they could do no more; and that one year's war well pushed, would drive them into the sea. King then made a stop for some time—— Brothers you know this to be true, and you have always deceived me.——At which the Six Nations were all angry, and this day they are all packing up to go off; and what will be the event I don't know, nor don't care; for I have no faith in an Indian peace patch'd up by presents.

‘Yesterday, Capt. Peters arrived, which is the last party we have out. Capt. Peters says the Wiandots are all coming in; but the Delawares and Shawanese are not coming, nor durst to come; for they are afraid that if they should come here, Col. Bouquet will be on their towns and castles; for he has sent to them to come and make peace; and on the contrary, if they should go to him, we should be on them. And they intend to be still, until Bouquet first comes to them; and then send out and make peace if possible; if not to fight him as long as they have a man left. But believe they wait to get some advantage of us before they try for peace: But Capt. Peters says, Bouquet is within 30 miles of their towns; and believes is to make peace with them, for Col. Bradstreet had orders from general Gage eight days ago, to make no peace with them, and to march to meet Bouquet. But on calling a council of war and examining the Indians and Frenchmen that were acquainted with the road, found it to be 30 leagues to travel by land, and nothing to carry any provisions but on men's backs, which allowing for hindrances must take 40 days to go and come; and four large rivers to pass, two of which must be crossed with rafts, and that very difficult; and considering the season of the year, it was judg'd impracticable. And here we are, and for what I know not; nor when we are to leave it.

‘I am, &c.

‘ISRAEL PUTNAM.’

It has been recently discovered, that 'Old Put' was a coward. So stupid a calumny could only have found place in the pages of a stupid journal; and a short review of that soldier's life, during the period, in which this new trait is said to have displayed itself, will show, at least, that, if he was a coward, he was a coward to some purpose. The news from Lexington found him working at stone-fence, in his leathern frock and apron. He immediately mounted his horse, to spread the intelligence through the adjoining towns; and, when he returned to make a little preparation for the march, a body of several hundreds of persons, already under arms, appointed him their commander. He ordered them to march with a quick step; and, setting off himself, in his check-shirt, arrived at Concord by sun-rise next morning.

Men, who were stationed at one particular spot, in the battle of Bunker's Hill, pretend to trace the movements of General Putnam; and have charged him with a fear of powder and ball, for being seen once in a particular situation, when, in fact, he was, at different times, in every part of the field. It may be true, that the army was not under any general, who had been regularly commissioned; but it is equally true, that Putnam discharged the duties, though he might not have held the diploma, of a commander in chief. 'General Warren joins the Massachusetts forces in one place,' says Hubley; and 'general Pomeroy in another, whilst General Putnam was busily engaged in aiding and encouraging here and there as required.\*' Since he was

\* Hist. of the Amer. Rev. By BERNARD HUBLEY. Northumberland, Penn. 1805, p. 287. We quote this book with much confidence; though it appears to be little known. Hubley was an officer in the revolution; and, besides his own papers, he obtained from his brother officers their journals and memorandums; and from General Hand, the last adjutant-

the most experienced, and had not yet shown himself a coward, it was natural, that the other two generals should give him the precedence; and we know not, that the historian could have chosen language, more pointedly expressive of the conduct, which a brave commander is always found to adopt. That Putnam was, at one time, seen with entrenching tools before him, we had rather admit than deny. It might have been necessary to carry them from one part of the works to another: the length of the redoubt was eighty rods: a man, who had come from making stone-fence, was not likely to shrink from a spade or a pick-axe; and, since the sooner they were carried the better, we think nothing more probable, than that Putnam, being on horseback, took a part of them himself.

It was not Colonel Gerrish alone, who was tried for cowardice at the battle of Bunker's Hill. The colonists had not yet been separated from England long enough to distinguish, with certainty, the friends from the foes: the conduct of every individual was watched with the strictest scrutiny; and court martials continued to be held upon officers and men, from the 7th of July to the 5th of October.\* The same rigour was extended to the camp. Offences, which would now be overlooked, were then punished with severity. One captain was fined eight shillings

general of the army, his whole collection of official documents. The volume now before us, (the only one which the author lived to publish,) contains upwards of six hundred pages; and yet, so careful has he been to give full copies of records and orders, that it embraces no more than the period between 1773 and 1775. The book is of considerable value as a repository of documents; and its value has been greatly enhanced by the conflagration of the war-office.

\* *HCB.* pp. 352, 390, 416, 470, 498, 507, 511, 525, 528, 537, 546, 558, 577, 588, 592.

for two oaths; and a private received twenty lashes for abusing Colonel Gredley, and forging Putnam's order for a quart of rum.\* If Putnam himself was a coward, he was certainly a most conspicuous coward. Had he dodged, or turned pale, there was not an officer or a man in the army, who would not have been a witness to the fact.

On the 22d of July, 1775, the army was marshalled into three divisions; and it is a remarkable instance of successful cowardice, that the left wing was given to Major-General Putnam.† Indeed, so little was his character known, at this time, that, when General Washington, early in 1776, had formed a bold and hazardous plan of taking Boston by storm, he designated Putnam for his leader, though he was the youngest, in rank, of four major-generals. 'In expectation, (says Marshal,) that the flower of the British troops would be employed against the heights of Dorchester, General Washington had concerted a plan for availing himself of that occasion, to attack the town of Boston itself. Four thousand chosen men were held in readiness to embark at the mouth of Cambridge river, on a signal to be given, if the garrison should appear to be so weakened, by the detachment from it, as to justify an assault. These troops were to embark in two divisions; the first to be led by Brigadier-General Sullivan; the second, by Brigadier-General Green; and the whole to be under the command of Major-General Putnam.‡' In fine, a lack of courage was the last accusation, which could be expected to succeed against General Putnam;

\* HUB. pp. 503, 465.

† Ibid. pp. 435, 437.

‡ MARSH. Life of Wash. vol. ii. p. 272



and, until a man has voluntarily descended to fight a wolf in her own den, let him never think himself entitled to call the hero of Pomfret a coward.



## NOTE (M). P. 187.

THE colonies were not yet perfectly ripe for insurrection; and it will appear, from the following extract of a letter from Mr. M'Kean, who represented Delaware, to Mr. Adams, our second president, that the congress at New York was, by no means, unanimous enough to hasten the maturity of the cause.

*' Philadelphia, Aug. 20, 1813.*

DEAR SIR,

'I can at length furnish you with a copy of the proceedings of the congress, held at New York, in 1765; it is inclosed herewith. After a diligent inquiry, I had not been able to procure a single copy, either in manuscript or print, done in the United States, but fortunately met one, published by J. Almon, in London, in 1767, with a collection of American tracts, in 4 8vo volumes; from which I caused the present one to be printed. It may be of some use, to the historian at least.

\* \* \* \* \*

'In the congress of 1765, there were several conspicuous characters: Mr. James Otis appeared to me to be the boldest and best speaker. I voted for him as our president; but Brigadier Ruggles succeeded, by one vote, owing to the number of the committee from New York, as we voted individually. When the business was finished, our president would not sign the petitions, and peremptorily refused to assign any reasons.

until I pressed him so hard, that he at last said, 'it was against his *conscience*;' on which word I rung the change so loud, that a plain challenge was given by him, and accepted, in the presence of the whole corps; but he departed the next morning, before day, without an adieu to any of his brethren. He seemed to accord with what was done during the session, so fully and heartily, that Mr. Otis told me frequently it gave him surprise, as he confessed he suspected his sincerity.

'There was less fortitude in that body than in the succeeding congress of 1774: indeed some of the members seemed as timid as if engaged in a traitorous conspiracy. Mr. Ogden, then speaker of the New Jersey assembly, following the example of the president, declined to sign the petitions, though warmly solicited by myself, in private, and also by my father-in-law, Col. Borden, his colleague: the consequence of my mentioning this fact, as I returned to Newcastle, through New Jersey, was to Mr. Ogden a burning in effigy, in several of the counties, and his removal from the office of speaker, at the next meeting of the general assembly; and to me, menaces of another challenge. The great mass of the people were, at that time, zealous in the cause of America.'

Brigadier Ruggles was afterwards a deputy to the general court of Massachusetts, from the town of Hardwicke; and, when that body, on the 26th of February, 1768, passed its resolutions to suppress luxury, and encourage domestic manufactures, 'the representative from Hardwicke,' to use his own words, 'was the only one who answered *nay*.' He drew up a paper of 'reasons,' which the court refused to enter upon its journals; and which, indeed, seem only intended to insult the dignity of the house, by satirizing the morals of the province. 'He had no objection, (he said,) to the resolution of endeavouring to suppress extra-

vagance, idleness, and vice, and promoting industry, economy, and good morals, but was pleased with the appearance of such necessary reformation.'

Mr. Otis, mentioned in the above letter, was one of our earliest patriots; and, at last, fell a sacrifice to our cause. The following scraps, from the newspapers, will give the reader of the present day, some idea of the trials, which the leaders of the revolution were obliged to encounter.

#### 'ADVERTISEMENT.'

'Whereas I have full evidence that Henry Hulton, Charles Paxton, William Burch, and John Robinson, Esquires, have frequently and lately treated the character of all true North Americans in a manner that is not to be endured, by privately and publicly representing them as traitors and rebels, and in a general combination to revolt from Great Britain. And whereas the said Henry, Charles, William, and John, without the least provocation or colour, have represented me, by name, as inimical to the rights of the crown, and disaffected to his majesty, to whom I annually swear, and am determined, at all events, to bear true and faithful allegiance; for all which general, as well as personal abuse and insult, satisfaction has been personally demanded, due warning given, but no sufficient answer obtained. These are, therefore, humbly to desire the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his principle secretaries of state, particularly my Lord of Hillsborough, the board of trade, and all others whom it may concern, or who may condescend to read this, to pay no kind of regard to any of the abusive misrepresentations of me or my country, that may be transmitted by the said Henry, Charles, William, and John, or their confederates, for they are no more worthy of credit than those of Sir Francis Bernard, of Nettleham, Bart., or any of his cabal; which cabal may be well known, from the papers in the house of commons, and at every great office in England.

'JAMES OTIS.'

'MESSRS. EDES & GILL,

'Please to insert the inclosed copy of a letter to me, from the collector, with the observations, and you will oblige your friend,

'JAMES OTIS.'

'SIR,

'When you first informed me of your dissatisfaction at an expression, wherein your name happens to be mentioned, in an official report from me, as collector of this board, to the board of customs, I then declared to you that I had no intention or design, by that expression, to cast any personal reflection or censure upon you; which declaration, as above, I now confirm under my hand; and to which I shall add, that, so far from intending any harm to you, by that mention of your name, I shall be sorry if any detriment should happen to you by that means.

'I am, sir, your humble servant,

'JOS. HARRISON.'

'Boston, Aug. 11. 1769

‘Mr. Harrison is too contemptible, in my opinion, to take any further notice of, at present, than to declare, that I think him, if not a very wicked, yet a very weak old man. To charge a person, by name, as inimical to the crown, and then give it under hand that no reflection was meant, is either lying or a mark of superannuation. As to official reports, my charge against Mr. Harrison was not confined to them: Had it been, he has no right to use my name in his official reports, unless I obstruct him in his office, which he knows I never did. The commissioners too are far gone in the doctrine of *official reports*. And it seems to be a current opinion among them, that the most infamous slander imaginable, handed into their board, and sworn to, no matter by whom, nor before what justice, is sufficient to support a memorial to the treasury or parliament. It is strange, considering the frequent conferences and communications between those able lawyers, Governor Hutchinson, Judge Auchmuty, the attorney-general, Jonathan Philanthrop, and the commissioners, these have not learnt law enough to know they have no right to scandalize their neighbours. ’Tis strange that Mr. Robinson, even in his Welch clerkship, could not find out that, if he “*officially*,” or in any other way, misrepresents me, I have a natural right, if I can get no other satisfaction, to break his head. None but such superlative blockheads as H. Houlton, C. Paxton, W. Burch, and J. Robinson, could think gentlemen meanable to them, unless they hold under them.

‘J. OTIS.’

‘Boston, September 7.

‘Early on Tuesday evening last, a difference arose, at the British Coffee-House, in this town, between James Otis, Esq. and John Robinson, Esq.; the latter demanding satisfaction for certain expressions, in a publication, signed by Mr. Otis, in the Boston Gazette of Monday last. After a proposal, on the part of Mr. Otis, to decide this controversy by themselves, in a separate room, which was consented to by Mr. Robinson, very unexpectedly to Mr. Otis, and while he was rising, Mr. Robinson, in the presence of the public company in the coffee-room, attempted to pull him by the nose, and, failing in the attempt, he immediately struck at him with his cane; against which Mr. Otis defended himself, and returned the compliment. A close engagement then ensued, and Mr. Otis, having disarmed his antagonist, several persons in the room fell upon Mr. Otis—some of whom held him, while others struck with cutlasses, canes, and other weapons, and the general cry was, kill him, kill him. A young gentleman, Mr. John Gridley, passing by the room, and seeing Mr. Otis treated in so ungentleman-like and barbarous a manner, and without a friend near him, pressed in, and, endeavouring to interpose, was also attacked, in the manner Mr. Otis was, by as many as could come near him; and, after a resolute and manly defence of himself, was at length overpowered, as Mr. Otis had been, by numbers. By this time several others had got into the room; whereupon Mr. Robinson, and those who were with him, retired through the back-door of the coffee-house. Mr. Otis and Mr. Gridley were carried off, much wounded; and it is thought, had not the people come in to their assistance, the consequence of this ungenerous assault would have been fatal. The company in the room, when Mr. Otis was first attacked, consisted chiefly of the officers of the army and the revenue; and it is allowed, without contradiction, that both Mr. Otis and Mr. Gridley acquitted themselves with a spirit and resolution becoming gentlemen and men of honor.’



The wounds received in this encounter, were, at length, the occasion of his death. He became, at times, extremely melancholy; and, in one of his fits, he committed all his papers to the flames. The business occupied him several days; and ‘it was by this means,’ says Mr. John Adams, ‘that we have lost the history of our revolution.’

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## NOTE (N). P. 198.

A FINE sketch of Franklin’s life will be found in vol. ii. pt. i. of DELAPLAINE’s *Repository*;—a work, which is projected upon the best of principles; and which, if it continues to be adorned with such articles as the present, will reflect honour upon the literature and arts of the United States.

The letters of Franklin, and of all his friends, speak but one language upon the zeal and industry, with which he supported the American cause, while in London. October 23, 1768, a gentleman writes to his correspondent, ‘Dr. Franklin is very well, and very busy; you do not see him this year. Indeed it is better for you that he is where he is.’ Another, in a letter of November 3, says, ‘Dr. Franklin is indefatigable in his endeavours to serve his country. I heard him say, a few days ago, in a large company, ‘Britain has no right to tax the colonies, and never had any such right, and I trust never will have it.’ In one of his own letters to Lord Kames, dated in April, 1767, ‘You guessed right,’ says he, ‘that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending members of both houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning till night.’

‘The situation, in which Franklin stood before the house of commons, at his examination,’ says the eloquent writer in the *Repository*, ‘was certainly one of the noblest in which man could be placed; and, for the nation in whose behalf he spoke, one of the most endearing and thankworthy.’ A friend wrote, to know by whom the questions were severally put; and the Doctor sent him a series of answers, which are given, for the first time, in the *Repository*, and which will be read with great interest, by every lover of his country.

ART. FRANK. p. 74, *et seq.*

The affair of Hutchinson and Oliver’s letters was involved in considerable mystery, till the recent publication of FRANKLIN’s *Memoirs*, by his grandson. We have here an explanation from himself; which, like every other paper from the same hand, is clear, pointed, full, and satisfactory.\* We have never seen these letters in any collection of American state papers; and, as they relate to a very important epoch in our history, we shall lay a short account of them before the reader.

The first, from Mr. Hutchinson, dated, Boston, June 18, 1768, contains an account of the riot, occasioned by the seizure and removal of the sloop, belonging to Mr. Hancock. It is a mere opening to the subsequent letters; and only looks towards the recommendation of measures, which may keep the Bostonians in better subjection. The king’s officers, he says, were insulted and abused; their windows broken; the collector’s boat burnt; and the commissioners driven on board the Romney man of war. The governor, when asked to interfere, called it a mere ‘brush:’ the whole province seemed to consider it in the same

\* Works, Am. edit. vol. i. p. 230, *et seq.*

light; and, after adding, that 'it is not possible this anarchy should last always,' Mr. Hutchinson leaves his friend to his own reflections upon what would be likely to restore order.

The next letter, from the same person, is dated in August of the same year. Mr. Hutchinson now grows more confident; and ventures to hint at those measures, which his first letter left merely to inference. He inveighs against 'our incendiaries;' laments the 'cruel treatment' of the commissioners; and, resuming the topic of Hancock's vessel, states the naked fact, that there did not exist, in the province, 'any authority able and willing,' to suppress the mob. More observations follow in the same spirit; but, lest the hint, already given, should be lost, he repeats more distinctly, that, 'with all the aid you can give to the officers of the crown, they will have enough to do to maintain the authority of government, and to carry the laws into execution. If they are discountenanced, neglected, or fail of support from you, they must submit to every thing the present opposers of government think fit to require of them.'

In the third letter, dated October 4, 1768, Mr. Hutchinson announces the arrival of two regiments from Halifax; and, as he now supposes, that an 'authority' exists, 'able and willing' to suppress a mob, his mind seems to be more easy on that subject. He speaks with contempt of colonial insurrection, and derides every effort of his countrymen to assert or maintain their rights. 'Many of the common people,' says he, 'have been in a frenzy, and talked of dying in defence of their liberties;' but, when the troops came to land, though they had given 'broad hints' of resistance, 'their courage abated, as the prospect of revenge became more certain,' and they suffered the soldiers to disembark and march unmolested to their quarters. 'The town of Boston,'

he adds, 'met and passed a number of weak, but very criminal votes; and, as the governor declined calling an assembly, they sent circular letters to all the towns and districts, to send a person each, that there might be a general consultation at so extraordinary a crisis. They met and spent a week, made themselves ridiculous, and then dissolved themselves, after a message or two to the governor, which he refused to receive; a petition to the king, which I dare say, their agent will never be allowed to present, and a result which they have published ill-natured and impotent.'

But the conduct of the provincials soon restored the wonted seriousness of Mr. Hutchinson's tone; and, as the two regiments of foot had not proved entirely efficacious, he has more thorough remedies in store. His fourth letter, of December 10, contains an account of what he calls 'a piece of low cunning,' in the president of the council; but it is in the fifth, that he proposes his radical specific for the 'distemper' of the colonists:—

' *Boston, Jan. 20, 1766.*

' DEAR SIR,

' You have laid me under very great obligations, by the very clear and full account of proceedings in parliament, which I received from you by Captain Scott. You have also done much service to the people of the province. For a day or two after the ship arrived, the enemies of government gave out, that their friends in parliament were increasing, and all things would be soon on their old footing; in other words, that all acts, imposing duties, would be repealed, the commissioners' board dissolved, the customs put on the old footing, and *illicit* trade be carried on with little or no hazard. It was very fortunate that I had it in my power to prevent such a false misrepresentation from spreading through the province. I have been



very cautious of using your name, but I have been very free in publishing abroad the substance of your letter, and declaring that I had my intelligence from the best authority, and have, in a great measure, defeated the ill design, in raising, and attempting to spread, so groundless a report. What marks of resentment the parliament will show, whether they will be upon the province in general, or particular persons, is extremely uncertain, but that they will be placed somewhere is most certain; and, I add, because I think it ought to be so, that those who have been the most steady in preserving the constitution, and opposing the licentiousness of such as call themselves the Sons of Liberty, will certainly meet with favour and encouragement.

‘This is most certainly a crisis. I really wish that there may not have been the least degree of severity, beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain, I think I may say to you, the dependence which a colony ought to have upon the parent state; but if no measures shall have been taken to secure this dependence, or nothing more than some declaratory acts or resolves, it is all over with us. The friends of government will be utterly disheartened, and the friends of anarchy will be afraid of nothing, be it ever so extravagant.

‘The last vessel from London had a quick passage. We expect to be in suspense for the three or four next weeks, and then to hear our fate. I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the colonies, without pain. There must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties. I relieve myself by considering that, in a remove from the state of nature to the most perfect state of government, there must be a great restraint of natural liberty. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a colony, three thousand miles distant from the

parent state, shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent state. I am certain I have never yet seen the projection. I wish the good of the colony, when I wish to see some further restraint of liberty, rather than the connexion with the parent state should be broken; for I am sure such a breach must prove the ruin of the colony. Pardon me this excursion: it really proceeds from the state of mind into which our perplexed affairs often throw me.

‘I have the honor to be, with great esteem, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

‘THO. HUTCHINSON.’

In the letter, dated October 26, of the same year, Mr. Hutchinson follows up the suggestion of ‘abridging’ English liberties. ‘They (the colonists, says he) deserve punishment, you will say; but laying or continuing taxes upon all cannot be thought equal, seeing many will be punished, who are not offenders. Penalties of another sort seem better adapted.’

The remaining letters are from Mr. Andrew Oliver; who appears to have been more anxious to increase his salary, and promote his son, than to oppress the colonies, or serve his masters. It is the burthen of his correspondence, that the disaffection of the provinces was confined to a few desperate individuals; and that the most effectual cure of the disorder, would be, to augment the pay of public officers, and make them dependent upon the crown. ‘The body of the people, (says he, in a letter, dated May 7, 1767,) are well disposed;’ and then follows a computation of what he supposes would adequately remunerate him for his labours, in behalf of the administration.

On the 11th of May, 1768, he writes another letter, of nearly the same import. ‘Without a proper support afforded

to the king's officers, (says he,) the respect due to government will, of course, fail.' And, again, 'government here wants some effectual support: No sooner was it known that the lieutenant-governor had a provision of two hundred pounds made him, out of the revenue, than he was advised to resign all pretensions to a seat in council, either with or without a voice. The temper of the people may surely be learnt from that infamous paper; it is the very thing that forms their temper; for if they are not in the temper of the writer, at the time of the publication, yet it is looked upon as the ORACLE, and they soon bring their temper to it.' 'This, (he adds, a little after,) confirms me in an opinion, that I have taken up a long time since, that if there be no way to take off the original incendiaries, they will continue to instil their poison into the minds of the people, through the vehicle of the BOSTON GAZETTE.' Mr. Otis was one of these 'incendiaries;' and his assassination, at the British Coffee House, in September, of the following year, sufficiently explained the words 'taking off.'

Mr. Oliver's next letter is dated August 12, 1769. It is filled, like the rest, with calculations on the subject of salaries. We find two other letters in the collection; but they are from less conspicuous individuals; and we may pass them over without particular mention.

We shall close the note with one or two extracts from the speech upon these letters, delivered at the council, Jan. 29, 1774, by 'the pert, prim, prater of the northern race,' Mr. Wedderburne, afterwards Lord Loughborough.

'After the mischiefs of this concealment, (says he, in one place,) had been left, for five months, to have their full operation, at length comes out a letter, which it is impossible to

read without horror; expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malevolence.—My lords, what poetic fiction only had penned for the breast of a cruel African, Dr. Franklin has realized, transcribed from his own. His, too, is the language of a Zanga:—

‘ Know, then, ’twas———I.

‘ I forg’d the letter—I dispos’d the picture—

‘ I hated, I despis’d, and I destroy.’

Again:—

‘ These are the letters which Dr. Franklin treats as public letters, and has thought proper to secrete them, for his own private purpose. How he got at them, or in whose hands they were, at the time of Mr. Whately’s death, the doctor has not yet thought proper to tell us. Till he do, he wittingly leaves the world to conjecture about them as they please—and to reason upon their conjectures.—But let the letters have been lodged where they may, from the hour of Mr. Thomas Whately’s death, they became the property of his mother, and of the Whately family. Dr. Franklin could not but know this, and that no one had a right to dispose of them but they only. Other receivers of goods, dishonourably come by, may plead, as a pretence for keeping them, that they don’t know who are the proprietors, &c.’

And again:—

‘ But, if the desiring secrecy be the proof and the measure of guilt, what then are we to think of Dr. Franklin’s case? whose whole conduct, in this affair, has been secret and mysterious? and who, through the whole course of it, has discovered the utmost solicitude to keep it so? My lords, my accounts say, that, when these letters were sent over to Boston, so very desirous was Dr. Franklin of secrecy, that he did not



chuse to set his name to the letter which accompanied them. This anonymous letter expressly ordered, that it should be shown to none but a junto of six persons.\* If the doctor chuse it, I will name the six. The direction of every letter was erased,† and strict orders were given, that they should be carefully returned again to London. The manner in which they were brought into the assembly, all showed the most earnest desire of peace. Under these mysterious circumstances, have the assembly passed their censures; and voted this address to

\* This was a favourite topic of censure; and we shall here present a part of Dr. Franklin's answer to the charge. 'But, as it has been roundly asserted, (says he,) that I did not, as agent, transmit those letters to the assembly's committee of correspondence; that I sent them to a junto, *my peculiar* friends; that I had 'shown the utmost solicitude to have that secret kept;' and as this has been urged as a demonstrative proof, that I was conscious of guilt in the manner of obtaining them; and therefore feared a discovery so much as to have been afraid of putting my name to the letter, in which I inclosed them, and which only appeared to be mine, by my well known hand-writing; I would here observe, that, on the same paper, was first written the copy of a preceding letter, which had been first signed by me, as usual; and, accordingly, the letter now in question began with these words: 'The above is a copy of my last;' and all the first part of it was on business, transacted by me, relating to the affairs of the province: and, particularly, two petitions, sent to me, as agent, by the assembly, to be presented to the king. These circumstances must, to every person, then, have as clearly shown me to be the writer of that letter, as my *well known hand* must have done to those *peculiar correspondents* of my own, to whom it is said I sent it. If, then, I hoped to be concealed, by not signing my name to such a letter, I must have been as silly as that bird, which is supposed to think itself unseen, when it has only hid its head.' Works, vol. i. pp. 235-6.

† The fact is, they had no direction. They were sent under cover; and the cover had been lost, before they were put into Dr. Franklin's hands. Works, vol. i. p. 229.

his majesty, against Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, upon account of a parcel of letters, directed to somebody, they know not where. And Dr. Franklin now appears before your lordships, wrapt up in impenetrable secrecy, to support a charge against his majesty's governor and lieutenant-governor; and expects that your lordships should advise the punishing them, upon account of certain letters, which he *will* not produce, and which he dares not tell how he obtained.\*

The conduct of Dr. Franklin was truly provoking. During the whole of Mr. Wedderburne's invective, he stood before the council-table, without a change of feature or of position; and the speaker seemed much more angry at the impotence of his own rhetoric, than at what he called 'the perfidy' of his victim. At breakfast, next morning, Dr. Franklin told Dr. Priestley, that 'he had never before been so sensible of the power of a good conscience; for, if he had not considered the thing, for which he had been so much insulted, as one of the best actions of his life, and what he would do again, in the same circumstances, he could not have supported it.' He wore, on this occasion, a suit of Manchester velvet; and, when he afterwards came to sign our treaty at Paris, he was observed to put on the same dress.



NOTE (O). P. 205.

WE owe maple sugar to the revolution. The colonists were determined to use, as far as it was possible, none but their own

\* Our account of these letters, and of Mr. Wedderburne's speech, is taken from a volume of political tracts, published by J. Wilkie, London, 1774.

manufactures; and, among the rest, they had little doubt, that the maple-tree would yield them an abundant supply of sugar. The following account, though copied from a newspaper of 1765, may be an article of intelligence even in the present day.

‘ *Boston*, July 4.

‘ A gentleman from Athol, in this province, acquaints us of the great improvement already made in the sugar-making business, at Bernardston, about twenty miles from that place; and, as the ingredient from which this valuable article is produced, is spontaneous, and purely the product of nature, uncultivated by human art, it must doubtless excite the curiosity of many, to be informed of the particular method of procuring it; which, as far as we could ascertain from the gentleman, is thus: Having chosen out a large maple-tree, suitable for the purpose, they with an axe box it, much after the manner of the fir, from which turpentine is obtained; this being done, a kind of trough is prepared, extending from the trunk of the tree on each side, in order to retain the sap, as it runs down. By this means, upwards of thirty gallons, from one tree, has been obtained in a day; which, being manufactured after the manner of the syrup proceeding from the sugar-cane, produces a sugar, the grain of which is equal in firmness to the Jamaica; and the molasses, or treacle, extracted from the pressure of the sugar, is very little, if any thing, inferior to our West India molasses. Of this sugar, (a small quantity whereof was brought to this market, to dispose of,) the gentleman says, upwards of six hundred pounds was made by one man, the last season; *i.e.* from February to April, inclusive. It is the prevalent opinion of the manufacturers, that a tree will be serviceable for this purpose twelve or fourteen years, with proper usage. When one considers the still greater improvements that this discovery is capable of, and forms to himself an idea of the great utility of such a manufacture, especially in a country that has few staple commodities to support it, must he not wish that an adequate bounty was provided, or such other ample encouragement allowed, as that, at least, we might be able to supply ourselves with these articles? and no longer have recourse to our West India neighbours, who, we imagine, after this discovery, will be as much necessitous, from the want of our lumber, as ever we have yet been for the want of their produce. If we could be further stimulated to the proposed encouragement, we need only to reflect on the manufactures in some of our southern provinces: whose opulence arises chiefly from some of the most diminutive plants, and proceeds more from art in the improvement of these, than from industry in laborious employments.

‘ Besides the above, several hundred weight of this sugar has been brought, within these few days past, from various towns, situated in the eastern and western parts of this province, for sale; it is said that one family, near Number Four, the last season, made upwards of one thousand pounds, of different qualities. It is as pleasant to the taste as any other sugar, and very proper to give to children for the chin-cough, at this time very prevalent among us.’

*Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 18, 1765.

## NOTE (P). P. 217.

ACCORDING to Mr. Gordon, the language of the military members of parliament, was, in substance, as follows:—

‘The Americans are neither soldiers, nor never can be made so, being naturally of a pusillanimous disposition, and utterly incapable of any sort of order or discipline; and by their laziness, uncleanness, and radical defect of constitution, they are disabled from going through the service of a campaign, but will melt away with sickness, before they can face an enemy;—so that a slight force will be more than sufficient for their reduction.’

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## NOTE (Q). P. 220.

SOME of our countrymen have recently moved what appears to us an idle question, whether Massachusetts or Virginia, Mr. Otis, or Mr. Henry, first commenced the revolution? Mr. Jefferson has been quoted as saying, ‘that Mr. Henry certainly gave the first impulse to the ball;’ but he has since written to a gentleman in Boston, that if he ever used such an expression, he was speaking with a particular reference to Virginia; and Mr. John Adams asserts, on the other hand, that, while Mr. Henry is confessed to have come forward, for the first time, in 1765, Mr. Otis, the champion of Massachusetts, had infused the spirit into his own townsmen, nearly four years before. In November, 1760, says he, the officers of the customs received an order in council, requiring them to carry into execution the



acts of trade; and to apply to the supreme judicature for *writs of assistants* to search all places, in which goods were supposed to be secreted, and to seize all goods, upon which the duties had not been paid. The court doubted the legality of such writs; and appointed the next February term, to hear arguments upon the subject. The merchants applied to Mr. Otis; and tendered him with fees. He promised to argue the question; but would take none of their fees.

‘Mr. Otis,’ continues Mr. Adams, ‘resigned his commission from the crown, as advocate-general, an office very lucrative at that time, and a sure road to the highest favours of the government in America, and engaged in the cause of his country without fee or reward. His argument, speech, discourse, oration, harangue—call it by which name you will, was the most impressive upon his crowded audience of any that I have ever heard before or since, excepting only many speeches by himself in Fenuil Hall, and in the house of representatives, which he made from time to time, for ten years afterwards. There were no stenographers in those days. Speeches were not printed, and all that was not remembered, like the harangues of Indian orators, was lost in air. Who, at the distance of fifty-seven years, would attempt, upon memory, to give even a sketch of it? Some of the heads are remembered, out of which Livy or Sallust would not scruple to compose an oration for history. I shall not essay an analysis or a sketch of it at present. I shall only say, and I do say, in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis’ oration, against writs of assistance, breathed into this nation the breath of life.’

This may be true in one sense; but we cannot think it is in all its extent; and the subsequent language of the same gentle-

man is much more rational in itself, and somewhat inconsistent with that, which he holds here. 'What,' he asks, 'do you mean by the American revolution? Do you mean the American war? The revolution was effected before the war commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people: a change in their religious sentiments, of their duties and obligations.' And, in another place, 'this radical change,' says he, 'in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people, was the real American revolution.' In confirmation of the same idea, we quote the equally pointed and eloquent language of Mr. Jefferson. 'I suppose,' says he, 'it would be difficult to trace our revolution to its first embryo. We do not know how long it was hatching in the British cabinet before she ventured to make the first of the experiments which were to develop it in the end, and to produce complete parliamentary supremacy. Those you mention in Massachusetts as preceding the stamp-act, might be the first visible symptoms of that design. The proposition of that act in 1754 was the first here. Your opposition therefore preceded ours, as occasion was sooner given there than here. And the truth, I suppose, is, that the opposition in every colony began, whenever the encroachment was presented to it. The question of priority is as the enquiry would be, who first, of the three hundred Spartans, first offered his name to Leonidas?'

The reader will be amused to see what may be called the seminal state, and incipient progress of the revolution; and we have extracted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, then published by Franklin, the series of paragraphs on this subject, from the first rumour of an intention to tax the colonies, to the time when the spirit of resistance broke into acts of rebellion. The first

news was vague and exaggerated; and the colonists received it without any strong expressions of displeasure. But their murmurs became gradually more loud and distinct; till, at length, not satisfied with murmurs, they resorted to violence.

‘BOSTON, April 6, 1764.

‘Other advices from London are, that the trade between the West Indies and North America, as also the revenues of the latter, are now under consideration. The duties on molasses, sugars, &c. imported into his majesty’s plantations from the French, Spanish and Dutch settlements in the West Indies, but chiefly from the former, it is said, would be determined by the latter end of February last. Various are the conjectures as to this affair; by some it is said that a low duty will be laid on foreign molasses, one or two pennies per gallon, it is thought, is as much as it will bear; that there will be a duty of ten shillings per hundred weight on foreign sugars; a very large duty, or total prohibition of French rum. It is also said a duty will be laid on tea, on wine and fruit from Spain and Portugal, imported into the plantations. It is said that the duty on whalebone, exported from the colonies of Great Britain, will be taken off. It is said a premium is likely to be granted on hemp, raised in and imported from North America.

‘PHILADELPHIA, May 8.

‘Our advices by the packet are, that a scheme of taxation of the American colonies has for some time been in agitation: That it had been previously debated in parliament, whether they had power to lay such a tax on colonies which had no representatives in parliament, and determined in the affirmative: That on the 9th of March, Mr. — made a long harangue on the melancholy state of the nation, overloaded with heavy taxes, and a debt of one hundred and forty-six millions, fifty-two millions of which had arisen within the four last years: That by a computation, which he laid before the house, three hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum were expended in North America, and therefore it was but reasonable they should support the troops, sent over for their defence, and all the other expenses of the nation, on their account. To raise this sum, he proposed that the drawbacks on the re-exportation of particular goods should be discontinued; that a duty should be laid on East India goods; a duty of seven pounds sterling per ton on all wines from Madeira, &c.; a duty of three pence per gallon on foreign molasses, of ten shillings per hundred on sugars; a high duty on coffee, cocoa, &c., and that rum should be wholly prohibited; that wines from Spain, Portugal, &c. first landed in England, before sent to America, should have the duty drawn back. Besides this, an internal tax was proposed, a stamp-duty, &c.; but, many members warmly opposing it, this was deferred till next session; but it was feared that the tax upon foreign goods would pass into a law this session; that these colonies are under great disadvantages, in not having sufficient interest in parliament; from the want of which, the West Indies have been able to carry any point against them—only that Mr. Alien, of this place, was indefatigable, in remonstrating to many of the members, with whom he was acquainted, on the illegality of an internal tax, and had considerable influence in preventing it.’

‘BOSTON, May 14.

‘We hear, that the consideration of the duties, proposed to be laid on goods imported into the colonies, is postponed to the next session. The merchants trading to America, having joined with the respective agents, and greatly interested themselves in the above affair.’

‘BOSTON, May 17.

‘By letters from London, we find that the merchants trading this way have greatly interested themselves in our American affairs. They write that our agent, Mr. Mauduit, has been indefatigable in his labours on this occasion; but they fear that all their endeavours will fall short of the success they hoped for; that divers affairs, it is added, are now in agitation in the parliament, which will affect the interest of the colonies, against which, we are assured, the endeavours of our friends at home will be continued to the last.’

‘NEW YORK, August 20.

‘It is with pleasure we hear some of the principal merchants in Boston have come into a resolution to curtail many superfluities in dress; and that upwards of fifty have already signed a certain agreement for that purpose. Lace, ruffles, &c. are to be entirely laid aside: no English cloths to be purchased, but at a fixed price; the usual manner of expressing their regard and sorrow for a deceased friend or relative, by covering themselves in black, is also in the list of superfluities, and no part thereof but the crape on the hat is retained; instead of which, a crape is to be tied on the arm, after the manner of the military gentlemen.’

‘NEW YORK, October 1.

‘*Extract of a letter from England, dated July 17, 1764.*

— ‘There have been several things before our house of commons, very pernicious to America; some have been dropped, some pursued, and some depending. The report of your gaiety and luxury has reached your mother country; and they infer from thence your opulence, which is further confirmed by the extravagant expenses of your youth, sent here for education; and therefore you are well able to bear a part of the expenses your defence has cost the nation: and can you blame them for such a conclusion? Is it not natural to infer it from the premises?’

‘TO THE PUBLICK.

‘February 7, 1765.

‘At a time when America esteems herself in danger of having her trade injured by restrictions, and trembles at the report of internal taxes, which are esteemed unconstitutional, to be raised on the colonies, &c.

(Signed)

‘RUSTICUS.’

‘BOSTON, April 4.

‘Besides the articles from the London papers, we have seen the resolves of the house of commons, respecting the stamp duty on the colonies, fifty-five in number; a terrible string.

‘It is said, that the following observation was made by a member on the hardship of the above mentioned resolve, viz. That where the colonies



stand on such high pretensions to independence, on the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, there is no moderating any thing.

[The duties are, indeed, a terrible string; and, as the bill is contained in the same paper, we shall present its heads to our readers.]

- 3*d.* on all pleas in courts of law.  
 2*s.* on bail-pieces and appearances on them.  
 1*s.* 6*d.* on all pleas, &c. in chancery.  
 3*d.* on every copy of such pleas.  
 1*s.* on pleas, &c. in any ecclesiastical court.  
 6*d.* on copies.  
 2*l.* on all diplomas, certificates, &c. of colleges.  
 1*s.* on pleas, &c. in admiralty courts.  
 6*d.* on copies.  
 10*s.* upon certioraris, writs of error, &c.  
 5*s.* on fines, common recoveries, and attachments.  
 4*s.* on any record of nisi prius, as judgment, &c.  
 1*s.* on all process, &c. not heretofore included.  
 10*l.* upon licenses to practise as attornies, &c.  
 4*d.* on all bills of lading.  
 20*s.* on all letters of marque, &c.  
 10*s.* upon all grants of offices, except of the navy, army, and of the peace.  
 6*l.* upon all acts of incorporation.  
 20*s.* on retailing licenses to sell spirits.  
 4*l.* upon licenses to sell wine, to persons not taking out licenses to sell spirits, &c.  
 3*l.* upon those who do.  
 5*s.* upon guardianships, and letters of administration, above 20*l.*; seamen and soldiers excepted; the duty extending to the continent of America, its islands, &c. Bermuda and Bahama.  
 10*s.* upon the same in other parts of British America.  
 6*d.* upon securities for 10*l.*  
 1*s.* upon securities for above 10*l.* and not above 20*l.*  
 1*s.* 6*d.* upon securities for above 20*l.* and not above 40*l.*  
 6*d.* upon warrants of survey for 100 acres.  
 1*s.* upon the same for more than 100 and not exceeding 200.  
 1*s.* 6*d.* upon the same for above 200 and not exceeding 320.  
 1*s.* 6*d.* upon all grants, &c. of 100 acres; except leases up to 21 years.  
 2*s.* upon the same for above 100 and not exceeding 200.  
 2*s.* 6*d.* upon the same for above 200 and not exceeding 320. These confined to the continent, its islands, Bermuda and Bahama.  
 3*s.* on the same for lands above 100 in all other parts of British America.  
 4*s.* on above 100 and not exceeding 200.  
 5*s.* on above 200 and not exceeding 320.  
 4*l.* upon all offices not before mentioned; except the army, navy, and justices of the peace.  
 6*l.* upon all exemplifications of the same.  
 2*s.* 6*d.* on all contracts, charters, bills of sale, &c.  
 5*s.* on warrants to audit accounts, passports, policies of insurance, &c.  
 2*s.* 3*d.* on all bonds, letters of attorney, notarial acts, &c.  
 3*d.* on all registers of deeds, &c. before mentioned.  
 2*s.* on all registers of deeds, &c. not before mentioned.  
 1*s.* on playing cards.  
 10*s.* on dice.  
 ½*d.* on all pamphlets and newspapers.  
 1*d.* if larger than a half sheet and under a whole sheet.  
 2*s.* not exceeding six sheets.  
 2*s.* on all advertisements.  
 2*d.* on all almanacks, &c. on one side of one sheet.  
 4*d.* on all others. These for one year. If for more years, to be multiplied by the number.  
 6*d.* on every 200, in sums not ex-

ceeding 50*l.* as consideration Double duties upon all papers, &c.  
for apprenticeships. in other than the English  
1*s.* on 20, if the sum exceeds 50*l.* language.

‘BOSTON, June 3.

‘Our trade is in a most deplorable situation, not one fifth part of the vessels now employed in the West India trade, as was before the late regulations; our cash almost gone before the stamp and post-office acts are to operate; bankruptcies multiplied, our fears increased, and the friends of liberty in the greatest despondency. What these things will end in time only can discover.’

‘BOSTON, July 8.

‘The house of representatives, in the last session, appointed the Hon. James Otis, Timothy Ruggles, and Oliver Partridge, Esquires, a committee to meet the committees of the assemblies of the whole continent, if they see cause, at New York, the 1st of October, to unite in a petition to his majesty and the parliament, for relief under the insupportable grievance of this STAMP ACT, &c. It is hoped neither the governor of Virginia, or any other governor on the continent, will think this so improper a step as to dissolve their assemblies to prevent it. For we cannot think any of their excellencies or honors altogether unacquainted with act of parliament made immediately after the glorious revolution, which declares, it is the right of the subject to petition the king—and—parliament sits for the redress of grievances.’

‘BOSTON, August 12.

‘We hear from Providence, in the colony of Rhode Island, that the freemen of that town being lately called, to confer upon such measures as should appear to them necessary, relating to the Stamp Act, whereby the liberties, the darling boast of the North American subject, which were once indefeasible, must be greatly abridged, if not totally annihilated;—they accordingly met for the aforesaid purpose, and unanimously agreed to appoint a committee to prepare instructions suitable to be given to their representatives, for their conduct in the next general assembly, on this truly alarming occasion; and that they are to be laid before the town, for their approbation, on the 13th of this instant, at which time those sons of liberty are to convene again, for the noblest of all causes, their country’s good.

‘BOSTON, August 19.

‘Last Wednesday morning, to the surprise and joy of the public, was exhibited on the Great Trees, in the High street of this town, the effigies of a DISTRIBUTOR OF THE STAMPS, pendant behind whom hung a boot, newly soaled with a GREENVILLE soal, out of which proceeded the Devil. This spectacle continued the whole day without the least opposition, though visited by multitudes.—About evening, a number of respectable people assembled, cut down the said effigies, placed it on a bier, and, covering it with a sheet, they proceeded in a regular and solemn manner, amidst the acclamations of the populace, through the town, till they arrived at the court-house, which, after a short pause, they passed, and, proceeding down King street, soon reached a certain edifice, then building for the reception of stamps, which they quickly levelled with the ground it stood on, and with the wooden remains thereof, marched to

Fort Hill, where, kindling a fire therewith, they made a burnt offering of the effigies, for the sins of the people, which had caused such heavy judgments as the STAMP ACT to be laid upon them.'

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## NOTE (R). P. 252.

His letter, on the subject, to Mr. Richard Corbin, a member of the council, is worthy of preservation. It was obtained from Mr. Francis Corbin, a son of the former gentleman.

DEAR SIR,

'In conversation at Green Spring you gave me some room to hope for a commission above that of major, and to be ranked among the chief officers of the expedition. The command of the whole forces is what I neither look for, expect, or desire; for I must be impartial enough to confess it is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience to be entrusted with. Knowing this, I have too sincere a love to my country to undertake that which may tend to the prejudice of it. But if I could entertain hopes that you thought me worthy of the post of lieutenant-colonel, and would favour me so far as to mention it at the appointment of officers, I could not but entertain a true sense of the kindness.

'I flatter myself that under a skilful commander, or a man of sense (which I most sincerely wish to serve under) with my own application and diligent study of my duty, I shall be able to conduct my steps without censure, and in time render myself worthy the promotion that I shall be favoured with now.'

## ANSWER.

DEAR GEORGE,

'I enclose you your commission. God prosper you with it.

'Your friend,

'RICHARD CORBIN.'

MARSH. *Life*, vol. ii. p. 5 note.

## NOTE (S). P. 234.

WE hardly know whether to consider their answer as serious or ironical:—

‘We, the officers of the Virginia regiment, are highly sensible of the particular mark of distinction with which you have honoured us, in returning your thanks for our behaviour in the late action; and cannot help testifying our grateful acknowledgements, for your ‘*high sense*’ of what we shall always esteem a duty to our country and the best of kings.

‘Favoured with your regard, we shall zealously endeavour to deserve your applause, and by our future actions, strive to convince the worshipful house of burgesses, how much we esteem their approbation, and as it ought to be, regard it as the voice of their country.

‘Signed for the whole corps,

‘GEO. WASHINGTON.’

MARSH. vol. ii. p. 11. note.



## NOTE (T). P. 254.

THE following anecdote is related on the authority of Mr. Edmund Randolph:—

‘When Colonel Washington had closed his career in the French and Indian war, and had become a member of the house of burgesses, the speaker, Robinson, was directed by a vote of the house, to return their thanks to that gentleman, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services



which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to his order, and following the impulse\* of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity; but with such warmth of colouring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgements for the honour; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the speaker relieved him by a stroke of address, that would have done honour to Louis XIV. in his proudest and happiest moment. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he, with a conciliatory smile; 'your modesty is equal to your valour, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.'

WIRT'S *Life of PAT. HEN.* 3d ed. p. 45.

\* To 'follow an impulse' seems to be rather an inversion of the order; but Aristotle, the father of criticism, has a similar expression:—*ακολουθεῖν τῇ ὁρμῇ*. Art. Rhct. l. ii. c. 12. Properly speaking, however, we should think, an impulse could only be *obeyed*.



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Page	xi, line	1, for factions <i>read</i> fictions.
—	xxiv, —	6, from the bottom, for sixty-sixth <i>read</i> seventy-sixth
—	xxxiv, —	12, <i>dele</i> appear to.
—	xliv, —	13, after of <i>insert</i> the.
—	lvii, —	6, from the bottom, after leaves. <i>insert</i> the.
—	lx, —	12, <i>dele</i> both.
—	xc, —	13, from the bottom, for ever <i>read</i> never.
—	xcv, —	6, ————— for which <i>read</i> with.
—	ci, —	10, ————— for his <i>read</i> the.
—	cv, —	12, for away, <i>read</i> way.
—	cxxii, —	5, from the bottom, for 400,000 <i>read</i> 4,000,000.
—	cxxiii, —	last, for 9,000 <i>read</i> 90,000.
—	clxxi, —	8, <i>dele</i> his.
—	clxxxv, —	7, from the bottom, for effects, <i>read</i> consequences.
—	clxxxix, —	1, of the note, for Delaware, <i>read</i> Pennsylvania;

### THE UNITED STATES.

Page	56, line	15, for Colony <i>read</i> Colonies.
—	59, —	last, for (E) <i>read</i> (F).
—	88, —	10, for who <i>read</i> which.
—	186, —	last, insert New York.
—	187, —	3, for Thomas <i>read</i> Timothy.
—	243, —	19, for absent <i>read</i> about.
—	262, —	23, for Veita <i>read</i> Ucita.
—	311, —	7, for with <i>read</i> large.









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